MOTION OF THANKS ON THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE (Maharashtra): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I deem it a matter of very great privilege and honour to move that an Address be presented to the President in the following terms:—

> "That the Members of the Rajya Sabha assembled in this Session are deeply grateful to the President for the Address which he has been pleased to deliver to both Houses of Parliament assembled together on the 20th February, 1986."

Sir, to be able to perspicuously and fairly put my submissions in a correct perspective, succinctly, I will have to refer to the political scene, the national scenario, in the days which immediately preceded the day when the oath was taken by Mr. Rajiv Gandhii as the Prime Minister.

As we all know, the year 1983 unfortunately saw certain regional, divisive and disruptive, anti-national forces gathering almost untrammelled and unchecked momentum and strength. They became dangerously militant and unfortunately raised a demand for secession of a region from the Union of India. Then the earlier part of 1984 saw a cataclysmic, political upsurge, creating an upheaval in the country unprecedented after the post-partition riots. The prosperous and beautiful land of Punjab which was a bastion of the united India's sovereignty and which proved stronger than the rock of Gibralter and an impregnable fortress for the nation in the two wars across the border, was engulfed very unfortunately into extremely harmful activities. This region found itself enmeshed in a totally insane frenzy of lawlessness, terrorism, loot, arson, vandalism, dacoity, subversion unleashing ruthless diabolic violence. The sanctum sanctorum of the Holy Temples were desecrated and proclaimed to shelter the criminal's and to carry on subversive activities. Nation's integrity, unity and sovereignty stood threatened very perilously. Nation's beloved Prime Minister, then Indira Amma, was forced into taking a very unfortunate but unavoidable courageous decision at the cost of risking her life and the life of the Members of her very small family.

On the 30th of October—where tempers were running high and a section of the Indian community had yielded to hatred and vengeance in place to regional compassion—she delivered a public speech in Orissa. That was the last evening of her life. Contents of her last public speech had a fervour and a message of a Messiah and the tenor of her prophetic utterances had the touch of the divine visionery and it is here she had an uncanny premonition of her assassination. She told the world and the postarity and made clear to them that she was not worried about the assassination; and that was because of her faith in her people that her martyrdom will strengthen India's unity and its integrity. So long as patriotism and nationalism are considered supreme among all the virtou-sities bestowed on human-beings, Mrs. Gandhi's last words will inspire and illumine the path of posterity. Her message was one which makes mortals immortal.

The assassination shocked the world, it created traumatic conditions for us in India. The whole nation was plunged into an unconsolable grief and an irreparable shock. Nadir Baharsi has written a very touching couplet as to the state of affairs in the country on her assassination and I would like to go on record with that couplet. Unfortunately not many of us have an opportunity to speak on her assassination. Therefore, I thought I will take a few minutes on that aspect of the matter. That also is relevant to the performance of the Government subsequently that we are going to discuss in this debate.

It was the traumatic conditions, the unconsolable grief in which the nation was plunged and every family was shocked beyond imagination. Nadir Banarsi has written a couplet which is so touching. The couplet reads:

हादसा ऐसा गुजर गया कोई,
जैसे घर-घर में मर गया कोई ।

The nation was shocked, the morale was at its lowest ebb, political uncertainty was

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writ large on the assassination of Mrs. Gandhi. She was killed at a time when a statesman like her was needed the most, not only for us, but also for the entire third world. And we did not know what was going to happen to us. It was the darkest hour in our lives.

But every dark cloud has a silver lining. We saw her son, Rajiv, the young man standing by the dead body of her mother with an unmatched serinity, poise and courage and his demeanor at that time restored the maximu candadtes of into the hearts of people. If we lost a great leader, we have somebody upto whom India can look up now to save itself, to save its unity, to save its integrity and to maintain its sovereignty. He symbolises the tower of the nation's strength in himself. He instills confidence in the people. But if we adhere to the values which we cherished all these years the nation will look like a phoenix, emerging out of the ashes stronger than what it was. This nation fortunately has been blessed with democracy. Fortunately in our democracy from every crisis we have emerged stronger, and this is what happened this time.

In the meanwhile one realises that if Mrs. Gandhi's assassination was a disaster what followed after that disaster as a result of the riots in different places in the country was a sheer disgrace and shame. In fact, those riots, I must submit, Sir very regretfully were destructive of the basic values for which Mrs. Gandhi gave her life. I really hope that the real tribute by the nation to Mrs. Gandhi can only be paid if we realise that secularism is an integral part of India life where a brother should not be allowed to kill another in the name of religion. We are all basically one. We may be professing different religions, different castes, different creeds, but we are all children of one mother. Therefore, that comraderie and that brotherhood must rule supreme. It is for this cause Mrs. Gandhi has laid down her life.

Sir, situation was extremely disturbed. Law and order had deteriorated. Disconcertingly the nation was worried. Our friends abroad were worried very much. I know this because on the day of her assassination, I happened to be in Algeria as a representative of the Government of India to attend their annual republic day celebrations and I realised the assassination news was conveyed there in the morning and I was coming away without attending the function there. I met the friends there and they were in shock and tears. I realised the shock and the trauma they were in. Our friends from the third world countries thought that there was one leader whom they could trust so fearlessly to espouse their cause was no more to fight their cause. Therefore, when Rajivji took up the national scene, the scenario was an extremely disturbed one. It was not in the normal set of circumstances that he took his oath and a very heavy responsibility devolved on his shoulders. End of 1984 he went to the people to take their verdict, elections were held and in the Lok Sabha an unprecedented and unparallel mandate was given in his favour, Opposition parties were eliminated and one of the main reasons I thought why they had been eliminated was, earlier the entire concentration was made by the Opposition parties in running Mrs. Gandhi down as one who wanted to perpetuate a dynastic rule. People thought that was the greatest mockery of the wisdom and sense of the electorate in a true democracy. We do not have a Philippine variety of democracy. We have a true and real democracy. If people want 'X', they will have 'X'. If they want 'Y' they will have 'Y'. They proved it that it was their wisdom and judgment which will prevail. It is not the judgment of anyelse. And with a vengeance Shri Rajiv Gandhi was elected to power and the reigns of the Prime Minister came into his hands.

In this context and in this backdrop as a scenario in the national scence after taking oath as the Prime Minister, there are quite a few achievements to his record which are a milestone in the history of the achievement of the entire nation as such. And the first of the same was the Punjab Accord which he signed in July, 1985. As a result of the Accord, there were elections in Punjab. It was a democratic option exercised by the people of Punjab

and one was delighted that whichever party won or whichever party lost, at least, the democratic process in Punjab was allowed to function which had been hopelessly subverted earlier on account of violence and terrorism. In the House, we had occasions, Sir, you will remember, and in that to discuss the Punjab Accord and when the Punjab elections were sought to be announced, certain members from the Opposition expressed their grave apprehensions about the desirability of holding elections in Punjab and when we stoutly supported that elections must be held because ultimately, if the democratic processes are allowed to funtion, one thing would become clear in Punjab and it is this that a set of people, who have been talking of secession, a set of people who have been encouraging disruptive forces will be taught a lesson once for all and they would be exposed that they constitute a microscopic minority. A vast majority, a very large number of our Sikh brethern are those who have never thought of any secession, who accept India as their motherland and who have never considered opting ever out of the Union. They want to remain as our brethern as they have been in all these years. It was their test. It was their choice as against the microscopic few and an opportunity had to be given, Mr. Khushwant Singh is not there. I had stoutly said that elections should be held. Mr. Khushwant Singh said, Mr. Salve is an expert on income tax, in politics, obviously, he knows nothing. We should not hold elections. I wish, he was here this afternoon to answer what was the right thing. A right thing is a right thing and if we have to take certain risks in pursuing the course, which is the right course and even sacrifice has to be given because unless a generation is willing to sacrifice, it is impossible to expect that you either will be able to build a better and a bright tomorrow. For future, unless you are willing to part with some of the comforts today, you cannot expect a better tomorrow for yourself and that was a time when we had to take the risk. We were willing to give sacrifice to which we agreed. As a result, there were assassinations, terrorism was unleashed and as a result of which quite a few of our people were killed. But that is the price, perhaps, we had to pay to keep the burning flame of democracy alive. The elections took place. The Akali party was elected. The mandate was given to their party. A new Government was constituted. It was a victory, as has been pointed out by the President of the democratic processes over those of terrorism, over those of disruption, over those of disintegration. But now there is a very heavy responsibility on the Akali Dal. The news which we read these days about the events and happenings, the lawlessness, the violence which is prevalent in Punjab is causing very grave anxiety to us, causing very grave anxiety to the rest of the nation. We have not the least doubts about the bonafides and the good intentions of the Akali Dal. We have no doubt. They want to put an end to this sort of terrorism. They do want to encourage forces, they do not want to encourage communalists, they do not want to encourage insane fundamentalists nor do they want that disruptive activities to put Punjab into disarray and disorder and take a pace backward than going forward in industries and in other matters. But it is absolutely necessary as has been hinted by the President very rightly that we must discharge our responsibility wtih greater alertness and they should use a very firm approach, a very firm handling of the situation. They need to use all the power at their command, to put down this lawlessness, to put down these forces of disruption, to put down these forces who are wanting to perpetrate terrorism and handful of people cannot be allowed to hold even Punjab or the nation to the ransom. All of them must be eradicated. They must be taught a lesson of their life once and for all. There is considerable importance so far as the accord on Punjab is concerned. So far as the accord on Punjab is concerned, it is an extremely sacred document. It is not purely an adjustment of boundary between two States. It is not purely a question of giving over Chandigarh and adjustments here and there. There is something more basic and more fundamental involved in it. To us it symbolises the victory of secularism. It symbolises the victory of democracy. And it ensures for us the nation's unity and integrity. Therefore, the accord must be implemented and ways

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must be found to get over the obstacles and difficulties which seem to have overtaken it.

I would be failing in my duty if I did not make a mention at this juncture when I am talking of the accord, about the demand of the people of Haryana. It is too early for me to say anything and I will not comment on the merits of what the demand of the one is and what the demand of the other is. The matter is pending before a commission; it is pending before the Prime Minister. But I must submit one thing in all firmness: when we talk of the Punjab accord, when we talk of its successful implementation, we must also bear in mind that we are obliged to be just and fair to the people of Haryana. There is a certain demand that they are making regarding Abohar and Fazilka, about Hindi-speaking villages in Punjab. Today somebody was making a reference that some sort of terror was sought to be unleashed in those areas which are Hindi-speaking areas. Nothing can be more unfortunate and I endorse entirely the demand of the hon. Member who said that the Government in Punjab must put its foot down very firmly and must once and for all bring to an end this sort of terrorism. Terrorism and democracy are a contradiction in terms. We cannot talk of violence when we are, at the same time, espousing the cause of democracy. My respectful submission is that the claim of Haryana for Abohar and Fazilka should be considered in an extremely calm and an extremely objective manner. May be, as some people say, this claim is being put forward by Haryana because they want to acquire the right of a riparian State. There is nothing wrong in trying to acquire the right of a riparian State if they are entitled to become a riparian State. I hope it will be looked into, for I do maintain that successful implementation of the Punjab accord depends not only on the satisfaction of the people of Punjab but on equal satisfaction of the people of Haryana as well.

We have next the Assam settlement. An issue which had bedevilled solution for quite some time was looked into a little more pragmatically by the Prime Minister. And even though we lost considerable political mileage, even though in the settlement that was arrived at by the Prime Minister there was complaint that there was lack of political expediency, there was not a soul who said that the agreement or the settlement on Assam which was brought about by the Prime Minister did not cater to, did not serve and subserve the national interest. I want to make it clear that it is our attitude and the attitude of our leader and our party that we do not put the party's interests, our politics ahead of national interest. The national interest will always be ahead of us, whatever may be the political ramifications and consequences. We paid the price; we lost. Our traditional vote-bank did not vote for us and we no longer are in power and authority. But it does not matter. We respectfully bowed to the verdict of the people of Assam. A new Government of young people has taken over. We ardently hope that the new Government will do well for the growth, betterment and development of Assam. We wish them the best of luck. One thing is absolutely clear and it has to be understood because there are a number of States where we are not in power and authority. This growing tendency of encouraging and stimulating regional parties to an absolutely fanatical level, where one thinks that in the interest of development of a region, one must develop militancy and take recourse to violence, take recourse to terrorism, take recourse to subversive activities as long as it is for the development of the region, must be put an end to. I am unable to understand, so far as the functioning of the regional parties is concerned; how does a regional party or a region ever expect that other regions will remain backward that they will languish in poverty, they will languish in hunger but so far as we are concerned we will build a utopia for ourselves. Nothing can be more self-contradictory, nothing can be more deceptious, nothing can be more self-devouring than to think that under the name of regionalism you can subvert the basic norms of democracy and you can indulge in anti-national activities. It is an anathema to the region itself. I do hope that the State Governments will realise the responsibility on their heads. A lawless activity is a lawless activity, whatever may be the

ultimate object and purpose they want to achieve. Our Constitution gives every right and every authority to every citizen to peacefully launch a protest, in the manner they want to launch. It is one of the most liberal Constitutions in which political dissent is not curbed in any manner whatsoever, but the dissent must be exercised in accordance with the constitutional right which has been guaranteed, that one should respect the viewpoint of the other. It is implicit in the right it gives to dissent.

Apart from the Punjab accord and Assam settlement which were a landmark in the process of normalising the disturbed situation in the country, it must be submitted that these two settlements, these two accords, have been a great tribute to the statesmanship and the dynamic leadership of a young Prime Minister who has not been in politics for too long. By the maturity that he has shown, the maturity of judgment he has shown, the dynamism he has shown, the sincerity he has shown, he has endeared himself to the entire nation. Therefore, thereafter when the first session of Parliament was held after the new Lok Sabha was constituted, on the 17th January, the President, while making a speech, made certain major policy announcements, announcements of some very major programmes--they are enumerated in para 9 of his speech--and the most important of them, according to me, was the commitment to clean the public life, the commitment to improving and bringing abou judicial reforms and to bringing about a new educational policy. So far as a clean public life is concerned I must say that the record of this Government ever since it has come into power and authority is simply impeccable, simply commendable, is a matter for which everyone in the country has nothing but the highest of eluogies to offer. It is a matter of great gratification that it is not only the businessman who was considered dishonest, the Augean's stable had to be cleaned right from the top. The high officials in different Ministries who have worked in sensitive Economic Ministries, they were not spared, the Customs Officers were not spared, the Income Tax Officers were not spared, even the people who were supposed to be enforcing the law, the CBI people, were not spared, the RAW people were not spared. Everyone who was found wanting in cleanliness, who was found wanting in integrity, was ruthlessly tackled with, action was taken, and for the first time an impression was created that this Government which wants to work faster and faster does want a clean administration. There have been untiring, assiduous, efforts in penalising the economic offenders. I do not know how often allegations are made against us that "your Government is a Government of the rich, it is a sell-out to the rich." I would ask you to go to the rich, talk to the rich and see what they have to say...

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH (West Bengal): Ho many poor people go to you to get relief from income-tax?

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: I am a little serious; otherwise my reply would have been, certainly not members of the CPIM because they have never paid a tax in their life...

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: ...because they don't have that much of income. You are absolutely right.

AN HON. MEMBER: You have never disclosed your income.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: That is why we had brought a Bill for disclosure of incomes but you opposed it. It is on record.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: It does not matter. Sometimes we have to allow ourselves to be entertained by buffoonery and be tolerant...

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: We are listening for the third time to the nonsense.

3 P.M.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please do not interrupt him.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: Sir, so fas as the punishment of the economic offenders is concerned, is there any doubt in the mind of anybody that this Government has come out with an absolutely unsparing hand? However rich they may be, however mighty they may be, nobody has

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been left out. Once they are in the clutches of Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh, Mr. Vishwanath Pratap Singh is just not available. His eyes are closed, his ears are plugged and he would not want anyone to talk anything about these things to him.

Sir, I have been seeing from both sides of the table as to what has been happening to the economic offenders. For the first time, Sir, the fear of God has been instilled in the minds of the economic offenders and it is the highest tribute to this Government in the implementation of its policy that they want to cleanse public life because the public life cannot be merely cleansed by cleansing those who are in the Government service and those who are in the Government employment, but it can be cleansed by bringing about a degree of cleanliness in the business world also. And, if the business people are so powerful that they can control the elections through their money power, let them now realise that here is a Government which is not worried about their money power and let them utilise their money power whenever and wherever they want to. But we will only show to the people what we have been able to achieve against the economic offenders.

Sir, Income-Tax raids have been carried out by Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh and his Department and its results are very well known. People are frozen with mortal fear and these people, those who have been tax evaders, those who have been economic offenders, are certainly living under a great fear and, therefore, whatever else may please you, please do not accuse us of supporting the rich. May be let us agree to disagree on politics. But do not attribute motives to us which are untrue and which are false.

About the raids, Sir, well, I certainly congratulate the Finance Minister for having instilled fear in the minds of the people. But I was distressed to learn from the reports in the newspapers, reports on the parties raiding on the people of the Voltas. There may be anything about it. But I have nothing to do with Voltas because they have never been my clients. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: What a disclosure!

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: Normally, I would never mention what I have read in the papers.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE (West Bengal): You say something about those with whom you are in touch.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: Pardon?

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: You say that you have not been in touch with Voltas. It is true. So, why don't you refer to those with whom you are in contact?

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: No purpose will be served by my referring to them at your behest, Nirmal. If at all I refer, I will refer myself privately to Mr. Vishwanath Pratap Singh without, of course, violating the norms of professional ethics.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Sometimes you go to him privately here!

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: Anyhow, Sir, it was reported in the papers that so far as Voltas is concerned--I am only going by the newspaper reporting--it has been uniformly reported that there was some dispute on the interpretation of the provisions of the law or the rules and while the matter was *sub judice* in a court of law, the professionals who manage the Voltas were put under arrest and they were subjected to interrogation for 72 hours. They were not the capitalists and they were only professional managers of that Company and everyone in this country has a right to question, on the basis of the law, the interpretation of the law in a court of law and before a court of law, Sir, Mr. Vishwanath Pratap Singh's Department does not stand on a footing higher than that of a citizen. I would like to make a request in this House and I would like to make a public statement that if what is reported in the papers is correct and if the officers have been acting overzealously.. . .

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH): You always believe the newspapers?

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: What is it, Sir? I did not get him.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: You always believe the papers?

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: No, no, That is why I am putting it to you. I don't believe them. I have been in the I & B Ministry and I have been in the media. Anyway, Sir, I do hope that whatever is reported in the papers is incorrect. is incorrect as ever, because I do not expect such a thing under Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh. But the way such a thing has happened, I am sure he will inquire into it and if the officers have acted overzealously and have overstepped and transgressed the requirements of law and have taken the law into their own hands, then, Sir, I am sure, the offending officers will be penalised as much as anybody else. It is necessary so far as these raids are concerned. I want to submit one more thing. You have conducted raids. Yesterday only I was reading the Econamist. It is stated that the amount, the quantum of currency which has been seized in the collection of the direct tax reveals one thing that as much as Rs. 10,000 crores of concealed income has been surrendered to taxation. While raids are necessary to instil, as I said, some degree of terror into the minds of the offending people. the real approach is the approach of better and voluntary compliance than creating a condition where the people fear the law. Kindly improve the quality of law that people start respecting the law. You have from the first time taken bold decisions despite the criticism of the people and the Opposition benches and you have made the law more rational and you have seen the response of the people, and it is because of the rationality of approach in the taxation, the tax structure and tax rates, that Rs. 10,000 crores of black money has been surrendered for taxation. The Indian Income-tax Act is one of the most stringent, so fas as the punitive measures are concerned. The criminal liability, the liability of being sent to jail is one of the most stringent in the world in the Indian Income-tax Act, All of that put together, the cumulative and rolled into one could never get the sort of buoyancy which it has got today. The only reason for the buoyancy is that there is a certain response of the taxpayer with the quality of the tax laws. If the tax laws are irrational, there will never compliance. The best way is to create conditions for voluntary compliance, which you have done. Give the people a fair chance. Give yourself a fair chance. Vishwanathji, I do hope that with the success you have achieved as a result of your policy, we will never go back.

Sir, the economic situation has been referred to by the President. Yesterday I had extensively quoted while speaking on the price rise. I will not go into it again. Yesterday I was reading the Economic Review and the picture that it has painted is a magnificent tribute, tremendous tribute, to the efficiency which has been shown by the Government in the management of the economy of the country. It is a tribute to the way and the manner in which the Finance Minister has managed and looked after the price mechanism, despite a massive deficit, the largest deficit in the post-independent India. It has been ensured that the deficit has to be fully absorbed in the economic growth. as a result of which there has been price stability, as a result of which the inflation has been the least in the preceding seven years. There has been an overall growth which is highly satisfactorily described by the Economic Survey of India. Agricultural growth is very well commendable. We are likely to reach the figure of 150 million tonnes.

Sir, pausing here for a moment. I would like to voice my concern over an issue which was raised by Mr. Dhabe It relates to the area where I live, roundabout Nagpur. There are beuatiful orchards of oranges—in Amravati, in Nagpur districts and other places. There are beautiful orchards, beautiful orange trees. This time the crop was magnificient. People who came from there said: we are going to have plenty of oranges which will sweeten the lives of people of this country and the people abroad when they are exported. Unfortunately, there was an unprecedented hailstorm. We do not normally get such type of hailstorms as at this time. Is not only destroyed the entire fruits but I am told that they

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have hopelessly affected the trees. Beautiful trees which sweetened the life of the nation are, I am told, on the verge of perishing. I was surprised to hear when it was said that this is not...

SHRI JAGESH DESAI (Maharashtra): For five years there is no crop.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: I was surprised that the Government says that it is not a national calamity. I do not understand. Is it an unnatural calamity or what?

SHRI VITHALRAO MADHAVRAO JADHAV (Maharashtra): They make national calamities themselves.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: I am surprised. I am shocked at this statement, of any Government, even if it is a Government of my party, which should say that such massive destruction of crop and havoc caused to the beautiful trees and orchards which are on the verge of perishing and would not yield fruits for five years, has not constituted a national calamity. If it is not a national calamity, a person who thinks that this is not a national calamity must be either a congenital idiot or an idiot of his own choice. I cannot understand this. I do hope, Sir, and I am putting it to Vishwanathji, my Leader here in this House and to this Government to take effective immediate measures to see that the trees in Nagpur and round about Nagpur do not perish. I do not know what measures can be taken. I am not an expert on agriculture. But surely there must be some measure where this hailstorm and the adverse and dangerous effects of the hailstorm could be undone.

Sir, coming back to where I left, I was referring to the economic situation referred to by the President. The agricultural growth was commendable: the industrial growth has been more reasonbale; price stability is very highly commendable; tax collections have been buoyant, and this Plan which is an ambitious Plan is being very efficaciously implemented. There is one warning in the Economic Review which I would like to reiterate. The Government will have to be extremely cautious and always vigilant to ensure that the implementation of the Plan, the funding does not fan inflationary pressures People cannot afford any inflation as such. I am sure, the funding will always be very rigorously monitored to make sure that it does not bring about any sort of inflationary effect. Sir, the reference to the public sector undertakings also in the Economic Survey of India is of some degree of disconcern. What is stated in the Economic Survey of India is that the massive investment in a developing country and a poor country like India must have adequate returns. We cannot afford to be satisfied with a meagre and negligible return. Sir, the public sector undertakings or the public sector is an artitcle of faith with us. We have built a very large and a massive public sector which is like the Rock of Gibralter that stands us in times of difficulty. That is the highest strength which we have in our economy. But it is necessary that we must optimise efficiency and productivity. Optimal capacity use is essential, and we must make the fullest possible efforts to get the maximum return on our investment. People's money has been invested, poor people's money is involved in these Undertakings. And every possible effort must be exerted and asserted to see that we get the best out of it, the optimal maximum productivity per rupee which is invested there. increased. Our input profit productivity must be increased. Our labour productivity must be increased very substantially. Major Industrial policies have been referred to here. The thrust was to eliminate and eradicate the unnecessary, insane and insensible procedures which were delaying and impeding the growth. There is also a thrust for encouraging expansion of the various indutries to see that the capacity is augmented. As to the price rise, I made my submissions yesterday. I have only to reiterate one thing. You are entitled to protest. You have heard our viewpoint. We have heard your viewpoint in the matter. You are entitled to protest. But is this pursuing of a policy of disruption in the national interest? Is it in any manner going to reduce the burden on the poor which the price rise has caused? You are far more efficacious and far more efficient here.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH (Rajasthan): Give up agitation in West Bengal and Karnataka.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: That is what I am saying.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: Your Party indulges in *bandhs* and agitations in Karnataka and West Bengal.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: Well, in West Bengal and Karnataka, if my Party has engaged itself in a *bandh*, if it was on a purely political issue, I would not know what the matter is. But, certainly, what I say... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI DEBA PRASAD RAY (West Bengal): In West Bengal, the official programme of the Government itself is to call for *bandhs* from time to time. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI N.K.P. SALVE: I do not know about the *bandh* in West Bengal. I do not know about the *bandh* in Karnataka. But I certainly do know one thing which Mr. D. P. Ray is saying. In West Bengal it is the only Government of its type in the world which organises bandhs against its own Government. (*Interruptions*). And, you can imagine, Sir, that their faith and belief in democracy, their faith and belief in the ballot box is lost, and the only way they think they can organise in favour of their Government is by asking for an outright closure. It is an amazing phenomena. There is no Government in the world which is doing such a thing. You can show me any Government in the world which organise bandhs against itself (*Interruptions*) At any rate, Sir, what I say is that no useful purpose is being served by these banks in Calcutta or Karnataka, unless we are protesting against ruthless and merciless killings of our people. In these bandhs we cannot go and we cannot work, as was happening in West Bengal. I was submitting, can they give one good reason what they have achieved by these bandhs, except the political mileage?

A political mileage at the cost of national interests is the greatest disaster for this counry, let me tell you. You will not accept it. I do not expect you to be sensible and accept this. But what I wish to say about bandhs and disruptive protests is that you certainly are entitled to make peaceful protests without disruption of work. You raised a tremedous amount of protest in the other House. And there are innumerable ways of protesting efficaciously. But when you call a bandh to reduce or lessen the burden the those whose burden needs to be reduced, it is disruption, it is disruptive politics and it is dangerous politics.

Sir, the overall tone of the management of the economy and the mechanism of the price management has been very commendable. Paragraphs 36 to 43 of the Presidential speech deal with the foreign policy. It has been reiterated that our commitment to peace is just not negotiable, our commitment to fight apartheid, racial discrimination is absolutely uncompromising. Our sympathies are always with the valiant fighters of South Africa and in whichever form it is possible and in whichever manner it is possible, we shall fight and fight to the last against apartheid and racial regime of South Africa. The President in his Address has also protested against the continued denial of the inalienable right of the Palestinians. But there is one things that I would like to submit.

Sir, I was going through the Economic Survey of India and there is a reference to the importance of improving our relations with our neighbours. We have an extremely heavy defence expenditure on the anvil. In the Budget we will find that we have to give this country a defence erpenditure the luxury of which this country cannot afford. Every rupee we spend on the defence is at the cost of providing a school or drinking water to some village or a hospital for our sick. It is at the cost of poverty eradication programmes. It is at the cost of the development of this country. It is at the cost of elevation of the people above the poverty-line. Therefore, the defence expenditure is an expenditure which should no longer be considered, in my opinion, as a sacred cow. It must be properly and aptly evaluated and ultimately if we have our relations improved with our neighbours, which is not very difficult, I have not the

[Shri Deba Prasad Ray]

least doubt in my opinion, that both the countries cannot afford this type of defence expenditure. So far as we are concerned, we have to pay through our nose at the cost of our development, at the cost of our growth. The other people may get by way of aid and other means. But they have to mortgage their independence. I am sure that it will not be in the interests of both the countries to increase their defence spending. It will be in the interests of all the countries around us to have amicable good relations, goodwill amongst us. After all, what is it that we have to fight for. Large many issues have been already resolved. And, after all, if issues cannot be resolved across the table, by parleys, I do not understand what is the difference between human beings and animals. Let us go by the process of resolving our disputes by peaceful means and not increasing defence expenditure right and left. In this Seventh Five Year Plan if we are going to be loaded and burdened with a massive defence expenditure which is contemplated here, I am afraid that will be only at the cost of the poorest of the poor, at the cost of the deprived and the dispossessed and at the cost of the privileged and the under privileged I think the Prime Minister has a fantastic amount of appeal to the people of Pakistan. I am saying it with a certain degree of authority. I am associated with Pakistan authorities of the Cricket Control Board. We are holding World Cup in 1987. It takes us to different countries, to Pakistan-Lahore, and they come to us and we keep talking to them, and when we talk to the people in the bazaars and in the shops, when we talk to an ordinary person, the village people, the amount of goodwill they show for Rajivji and for India is amazing. I do not understand where does the question of war arise! Or is it purely an instrument in the hands of some scrupulous people to remain entrenched in power? The bluff has to be called off. I do hope that a more objective and a less subjective approach be taken so far as defence expenditure is concerned and it must be realised that mounting defence expenditure is not an inevitability in this country; it cannot be inevitable for a poor country like India because we have far too many important projects for which we need funds. There are cultural ties and sports ties which need be improved. Unfortunately, the Finance Minister has gone away. I wanted to put it to him that he must do everything possible to increase the visits on cultural missions in all countries roundabout us. We should also increase cultural ties and sports ties with different countries, particularly with Pakistan.

President's speech refers to anti-poverty programme in para 45. "The need of the hour is to enable the poor to better their lives. Science and technology have to support this fundamental objective. To this end, Government are mounting technology missions in the following areas:

(i) Drinking water for all villages;

(ii) Eradication of illiteracy;

(iii) Vaccination and immunisation of children;

(iv) Production of oilseeds and manufacture of edible oils;

(v) Improved communications."

I congratulate the Government for embarking on these projects as anti-poverty measures and I do hope if it is efficaciously and effectively implemented, we would have eradicated this menace of poverty very substantially.

I cannot end without referring to para 54 of the speech of the President. He hints at a very major electoral reform which I think is overdue in this country. And in para 54, this is what the President has hinted at:

"To safeguard the health and vitality of our basic political institutions..."

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY (Karnataka): Last year also it was there but not fulfilled.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: It was referred to last year. Anti-Defection Bill has come. But I am referring to it in a different context. It is said: "...vitality of our basic political institutions, changes will be needed in our electoral and other

laws. Government will hold wide-ranging consultations with the leaders...." I don't think this was there last year.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: You read last year's Address.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: Maybe you are right.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: We raised it with the Prime Minister when we met him.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: Time has come when electoral reform should be so brought about that the menace of money power from the elections is removed and eradicated lock. stock and barrel, and that can only be done if the Government is going to take up major burden. the extensive large constituencies which the Lok Sabha election candidates have to encounter and even the candidates who want to contest even the Assembly elections, and if you were to see the imperative necessity today of the means to be able to fight elections, it makes a mockery of the democracy itself. Unless a man has substantial money power or the backong of substantial money power, one would be scared to plunge into it. For this, Opposition and my party have been equally guilty all these days. But I do hope if we are honest about this, that is, the eradication of the supremacy of money power, then electoral reform should be so brought about that anyone put up by the party could contest and whether he has the means or does not have the means should be an irrelevant consideration, and the right person at the right spot should be kept on being elected.

Therefore, Sir, I conclude by adding--in the words of the President--that now is the time to ensure greater political cohesion so that the battle against poverty and backwardness can be won.

श्री सुखदेव प्रसाद (उत्तर प्रदेश) : उपसभापति महोदय, माननीय साल्वे जी ने महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण पर जो अपना धन्यवाद का प्रस्ताव रखा है, मैं उसका समर्थन करता हूं। साल्वे जी ने जिस खूबी और जिस योग्यता के साथ हरेक बातों पर प्रकाश डाला है जिसका कि राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में उल्लेख किया है, इसके लिए मैं उनको धन्यवाद देता हूं। साथ ही मैं कुछ बातों की ओर आपका ध्यान भी आकर्षित करना चाहता हूं। सबसे पहली बात जो माननीय राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण में थी, वह थी मुल्क की अखण्डता सांप्रदायिकता, धर्म-निरपेक्षता, लोकतंत्र के बारे में। श्रीमन्, जहां तक सांप्रदायिकता का सवाल है, हमारे इतने बड़े मुल्क में जिसमें कि इतने सारे मजहब हैं और इतनी सारी उनकी समस्याएं हैं, कभी-कभी वह सिर उठा लिया करती हैं और सिर उठाने के साथ-साथ वह एक न एक समस्या पैदा कर दिया करते हैं, जिससे कि राष्ट्र को उस पर बड़ी गम्भीरता से सोचना पड़ता है। लेकिन मैं इस बात को कहूंगा कि कांग्रेस पार्टी ने और देश के शासन ने शुरू से लेकर आज तक जिस खूबी के साथ इस सांप्रदायिकता के साथ निपटने का अपना हौसला और साहस दिखलाया है, शायद दुनिया के इतिहास में किसी एक पार्टी ने इस तरह का साहस नहीं दिखलाया है।

श्रीमन् पंजाब की समस्या पर काफी प्रकाश डाला गया है। मैं एकाध बात उसमें जोड़ देना चाहता हूं और वह यह कि पंजाब की समस्या वहां के लोगों की समस्या नहीं है बल्कि चन्द ऐसे लोगों की समस्या हैं, जो अपने स्वार्थ और अपने मतलब के लिए कुछ चीजों को उखाड़ करके एक सांप्रदायिक रूप उसको दे रहे हैं और वहां पर एक ऐसा आतंक पैदा कर रहे हैं, जिससे कि जनजीवन अस्तव्यस्त हो जाय और सरकार मजबूर होकर के उनकी मांगों को माने। इसी तरीके से आसाम में एक समस्या पैदा हुई थी, जिसको कि आप सभी ने देखा होगा कि वहां पर कितनी हत्याएं, कत्ल और लूट पाट और आगजनी हुई। लेकिन आखिर में जाकर के उसका भी समाधान निकला और वह निकला हमारे युवा प्रधानमंत्री माननीय राजीव जी के जरिए। राजीव जी ने अपने एक साल चार माह के शासनकाल में, जिन गम्भीर समस्याओं और लोग सोच नहीं सकते थे, दुनिया

[श्री सुखदेव प्रसाद]

सोच नहीं सकती थी हल कैसे निकलेगा, जिस खूबी के साथ उन्होंने इसे सुलझाया है, उसके लिए वे बधाई के पात्र हैं। श्रीमन्, शासन तो बहुत सारे लोग करते हैं, बहुत सारी पार्टियां करती हैं, लेकिन जनभावनाओं को देखकर, उनकी समस्याओं से किस तरीके से निपटा जाए, उसके साथ कैसे व्यवहार किया जाय' यह बहुत कम लोग समझते हैं। जहां तक समस्याओं का सवाल है, भारत जैसे देश में जो कि कई सौ सालों तक गुलाम रहा, उसकी समस्याओं के बारे में कुछ कहना बहुत मुनासिब नहीं क्योंकि उसको हर कोई समझता है और खास तौर से इस देश में, जहां पर ऊंच-नीच, भेदभाव, इतनी बड़ी सांप्रदायिकता की दीवार खड़ी हो, जहां पर छोटे और बड़े की दीवार खड़ी हो, जहां पर कि धनी और गरीब की दीवार खड़ी हो, उसके संबंध में मैं सिर्फ इतना कहना चाहूंगा कि ऐसे मसले से निपटना किसी सरकार के बूते की बात नहीं है लेकिन मैं दावे के साथ कहूंगा कि इस समस्या से निपटने के लिए हमारी सरकार द्वारा जिस तरह देश में एक अच्छा वातावरण बनाया गया, जिस तरह देश में योजनाओं को चलाया गया जिस तरीके से उसने लोगों की मदद करना शुरु किया है उसे देखते हुए हम आज कह सकते हैं कि मैं तो गरीब खानदान से आता हूं लेकिन इस बात का दावा करता हूं कि हमारी जो 60, 65 साल पहले समस्याएं थीं और उस समय जो हरिजनों की हालत थी वह आज नहीं रह गयी है। मुल्क में वे आज चैन की सांस ले रहे है। और दो वक्त रोटी वे खा रहे हैं और आजादी की सांस ले रहे हैं। थोड़ी बहुत समस्या फोरर्ड लेबर की है और छूआछूत की है, लेकिन वह भी धीरे धीरे खत्म हो रही है और यह इस गवर्नमेंट की सब से बड़ी उपलब्धि है।

जहां तक सार्वजनिक जीवन में स्वच्छता की बात है, स्वच्छ प्रशासन की, इस संबंध में हमारे साल्वे साहब ने बहुत कुछ बतलाया है। लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि जिस तरीके का रवैया हमारे देश के प्रधान मंत्री ने अपनाया है उस से लगता है कि कम से कम राजनीतिक जीवन में एक स्वच्छ वातावरण पैदा हो गया है। अब चाहे मंत्री हो या सांसद हो या विधेयक हो या यह हिम्मत नहीं कर सकता कि वह किसी मामले में कहीं पर घूसखोरी या इस तरह की दूसरी चीजों में इंवाल्व हो और हम देख रहे है कि जिस तरीके से हमारे नेता आगे बढ़ रहे है और मुल्क को एक स्वच्छ प्रशासन देने की कोशिश में है। उन्होंने न किसी अफसर को छोड़ा हैं और न किसी राजनीतिक नेता को छोड़ा है और न किसी मंत्री को छोड़ा है और जहां पर भी उन्होंने पाया कि करप्शन की बू आ रही है उन्होंने उस को वहीं पर दबा दी।

जहां तक देश की इकोनोमी का प्रश्न है कीमतों को बढ़ने के बारे में दो एक बातों की ओर इशारा करना चाहता हूं आज कल हमारे देश में यूनियन बाजी इतनी जबरदस्त हो गयी है कि एक दो यूनियन हो तो उस की मांगों को ले कर समस्या सुलझायी जाय लेकिन आज इतनी सारी यूनियनें हो गयी है कि जो बजदूरों और दूसरे लोगों को राहत दिलाने का वायदा करते है और रोज कोई न कोई हड़ताल कराते रहते है उस का नतीजा यह होता है कि हमारे घटों का और काम के दिनों का कितना ही लास होता है और उस से प्रोडक्शन की लागत ज्यादा हो जाती है और कीमतों में बढ़ोत्तरी शुरु हो जाती है। एक समस्या आयी पेट्रोल की कीमतें बढ़ने से और उसके लिये आज भारत बंद का नारा दिया गया। लेकिन मैं पूछना चाहता हूं अपने साथियों से कि जिस वक्त उन के बोनस का प्रश्न उठाते है मंहगाई भत्ते का प्रश्न उठाते है उनकी सहूलियतें का प्रश्न उठाते हैं तो सारे कर्मचारियों और दूसरे लोगों को सहूलियत के लिये हम दिन रात चौगुनी मेहनत कर के प्रयास करते है कि उन का बोनस बढ़े, उनका मंहगाई भत्ता बढ़े, लेकिन हमें यह सोचना चाहिए वह सब आयेगा कहां से। हमारे प्रोडक्शन की हालत यह है, हमारी इकोनोमी की हालत यह है और अगर आप उन का बोनस और तनख्वाहें बढ़ाते जायेंगे तो वह आयेगा कहां से और अगर थोड़ी की बढ़त पेट्रोल की कीमतों में हुई

तो उस के लिये यहां हाय तोबा मच गयी। मुझे मालूम है कि 1942,45 में जिस समय दूसरी वर्ल्ड वार चल रही थी उस समय जापान के समाने समस्या आयी कि कैसे वह अपने को खड़ा करे। जापान ने अपने मुल्क में प्रति गैलन 162 येन की बढ़ोत्तरी कर दी पेट्रोल की कीमतों में और उस के साथ-साथ प्रतिबंध लगाया कि पेट्रोल का खर्च कम किया जाये। नतीजा यह हुआ कि जापान ने अपने देश में जो पहले खर्च होता था उस के एक तिहाई पेट्रोल कि बचत की और नतीजा हुआ कि बाहर से पेट्रोल का मंगाना कम हो गया और वह मुल्क तरक्की के रास्ते पर आगे बढ़ा और जापान आज अपने पैरों पर खड़ा हो गया है। 1975-76 में जिस समय अरब मुमालिक ने अपने पेट्रोल कि कीमत बढ़ायी तो उस का असर यह होना चाहिए था कि यहाँ भी उस की कीमत बढ़ जाय। लेकिन भारत पर उस का क्या असर रहा। उस समय भारत की कीमतों में नाम मात्र की बढ़ोतरी की गयी। लेकिन इंग्लैंड ने, फ्रांस ने बढ़ोत्तरी नहीं की और दुनिया के मुल्कों में आज किसी ने कीमत डाउन की है तो हम ने की है हम ने यह बढ़ोत्तरी इस लिये नहीं की है कि किसानों पर और बर्डन डाला जाये। आप जानते है कि हमारा जो टार्गेट है 1990 में खर्च होने का वह आज ही खर्च हो गया है। अगर यही रफ्तार रही तो हमारी सारी इकोनोमी अस्तव्यस्त हो जायेगी और हम अपने मुल्क को व्यापार की तरक्की देने के बजाय अपना सारा पैसा पेट्रोल को बाहर से मंगाने पर ही खर्च कर देंगे। इस लिये गवर्नमेंट ने थोड़ी सख्ती कर के उस पर यह पाबन्दी लगायी है और इस का नतीजा यह है कि आज कम से कम लोग सोचने लगे हैं कि हम को कम खर्च करना चाहिए और हम को इस को नेसेसिटी के तौर पर ही खर्च करना चाहिए। ऐसा होने से हमारी इकोनोमी पर कुछ कंट्रोल होगा। इस लिये यह चीज आयी।

एक बात और आयी कि जो हमारे प्रोडक्ट हैं उन में से कोई चीज ऐसी नहीं है जिस की कीमत न बढ़ी हो। मैं किसानों के परिवार से संबंध रखता हूं आज किसान के गेहूं की कीमत 162 रुपये की गयी जो पहले 152 रुपये थी। चावल आज 147 रुपये पर है जो कि पहले 102 पर था। खाद का दाम बढ़ता है, दूसरी चीजों का इनपुट्स का दाम बढ़ता है तो प्रोड्यूस की कीमतें भी बढ़ेंगी ही। इस लिये हम को ज्यादा परेशान नहीं होना चाहिए।

जहां तक सरकार की और बातों का सवाल है मैं एक चीज की ओर ध्यान दिलाना चाहूंगा कि इस समय मुल्क के अंदर जिस तरीके का वातावरण पैदा हुआ है और राजीव जी ने जब से शासन की सत्ता संभाली है, करीब सवा साल के अंदर मुल्क मेलागों ने यह अंदाजा लगाया कि शायद यह नौजवान इस मुल्क को सम्हाल नहीं पायेगा। लेकिन मैं कहता हूं कि आज की सांप्रदायिकता और क्षेत्रीयवाद भी और जो दूसरी समस्याएं भी जिस तरीके से हमारे सामने आ रही है और जिस तरीके से उन से निपटा जा रहा है। उस के लिये मैं इस गवर्नमेंट को बधाई देता हूं कि इतनी बड़ी समस्यायें इस मुल्क में खड़ा होने के बावजूद भी कोई मेजर इंसीडेंट यहां नहीं होने दिया। मैं अरुण नेहरू जी को बधाई दूंगा कि जो हमारे आंतरिक गृह मंत्री है कि उन्होंने बहुत खूबी के साथ मुल्क में अमनोअमन को कायम रखा हैं और इसके लिये वे बधाई के पात्र हैं।

श्री जसवन्त सिंह : कोई और नेहरू तो नहीं रह गया। सब का नाम ले लीजिए।

श्री सुखदेव प्रसाद : जहां तक नाम लेने का प्रश्न है, दरअसल किसी अच्छा काम किया है तो उसका नाम लेने में कोई बुराई नहीं है। मैं इसी तरीके से बधाई देता हूं अपने विश्वनाथ प्रताप सिंह कोई जिन्होंने देश की इकोनोमी को सम्हालने के लिये ऐसी कार्यवाही की। इसी तरह से स्वास्थ्य मंत्री जी को बधाई देता हूं जिन्होंने हमारे मुल्क में ऐसा वातावरण पैदा किया कि आज लोग स्वेच्छा से परिवार नियोजन के लिये उतर पड़े हैं। और नसबंदी और दूसरी चीजें उसके लिये करा रहे हैं। तो जो अच्छा काम करता है उस का नाम लेने में कोई बुराई नहीं है और मैं महसूस करता हूं कि यह कोई चापलूसी भी नहीं है। जहां तक मुल्क को

[श्री सुखदेव प्रसाद]

आगे ले जाने की बात है राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में कहा है कि एक व्यापक नीति पर विचार किया जाएगा। उसमें परिवार नियोजन के बारे में और गरीबी को दूर करने के बारे में भी कार्य क्रम दिए गए हैं।

जहां तक आई०आर० डी०पी० का प्रोग्राम है, जहां तक हमारी दूसरी पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं का प्रश्न है मैं यह मान लेता हूं कि कहीं कहीं पर कमियां हुई है लेकिन इन योजनाओं से, इन कार्यक्रमों से जिस तरह से गरीब तब्के के लोगों को हरिजन और आदिवासियों के लोगों को फायदा हुआ है, उसके लिए मैं चहाता हूं कि गवर्नमेंट को बधाई दूं।

श्रीमन, इन शब्दों के साथ मैं आगे की बहुत सारी बातों का जिक्र न करते हुए, क्योंकि बहुत सारी बातों का जिक्र हमारे साल्वे साहब ने किया है, साल्वे साहिब के बधाई प्रस्ताव में इतना योगदान करना चाहता हूं कि हमारे जो काम हुए हैं, उन पर उन्होंने दृष्टिपात किया है, और आगे आने वाले जो हमारे काम हैं उनका जो उन्होंने उल्लेख किया है, इससे मुल्क का असली खाने सामने आता है। हम देख रहे हैं कि हमारा देश कहां से हां कहां जा रहा है, भारत किस तरह से आगे बढ़ने जा रहा है। आज दुनिया के सामने, दुनिया के और मूल्कों के सामने हमको सीना तानकर खड़ा होना है तो हमको कुरबानी, त्याग और बलिदान करना पड़ेगा। उसके लिए हमको मुल्क को तैयार करना पड़ेगा।

इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मैं अपने महामहिम राष्ट्रपति को बधाई देता हूं और उनको धन्यवाद देता हूं।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The Motion has been moved and seconded. Now we take up amendments.

Amendment Nos. 1 to 12 Mr. Lal K. Advani not here. Mr. Ashwani Kumar not here. Mr. Pyarelal Khandelwal not here. Mr. Kailash Pati Mishra not here. Mr. Shankar Singh Vaghela not here.

Amendment No. 13. Mr. Satya Prakash Malaviya not here.

Amendment No. 14. Mr. Satya Prakash Malaviya not here.

SHRI SUSHIL CHAND MOHUNTA (Haryana): Sir, I move:

14. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the manner in which the Punjab Accord is to be implemented to the satisfaction of the States concerned."

15. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention anything with regard to *the implementation of the Assam* Accord."

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Amendment Nos. 16 to 19. Mr. Satya Prakash Malaviya not here.

SHRI SUSHIL CHAND MOHUNTA: Sir, I move:

20. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention above the payment of huge outstanding cane arrears and need for giving remunerative prices to the cane growers."

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Amendment Nos. 21 to 31. Mr. Satya Prakash Malaviya not here.

SHRI SUSHIL CHAND MOHUNTA: Sir, I move:

32. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need for effective measures to contain the price spiral and inflationary trends which are weakening the economy of the country."

33. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the growing insecurity among the Government employees consequent on the judgement

given by the Supreme Court while interpreting Article 311(2) of the Constitution."

34. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the severe drought conditions prevailing in various parts of the country."

35. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need for speedy implementation of the recommendations of the Report of the Backward Classes Commission."

36. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the eruption of Communal violence in various parts of the country."

37. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need for electoral reforms in the country."

38. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the failure of Government to give compulsory education to children in the age group of 6 to 14 years as provided in the Constitution."

39. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that in the Address no concrete steps have been suggested to solve the unemployment problem and to give a reasonable unemployment allowance to the unemployed educated and uneducated youths in the country."

40. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the abnormal rise in the prices of indigenous newsprint which is crippling the newspaper industry in the country."

41. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the failure of Government to implement land reforms in the country."

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Amendment Nos. 42 to 61. Mr. Chitta Basu not here.

SHRI S. W. DHABE (Maharashtra): Sir, I move:

62. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention any steps for the transfer of Chandigarh to Punjab and for the full implementation of the Punjab accord."

63. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention any steps to be taken for the implementation of the Assam accord."

64. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not specify any concrete steps for the introduction of electoral reforms, so necessary for healthy functioning of our Parliamentary Democracy, and suggest a time-bound programme in this regard."

65. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention anything about the speedy implementation of land ceiling

[Shri S. W. Dhabe]

legislation and distribution of surplus land."

66. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention any new direction for the formulation of a National Labour Policy and for creating healthy industrial relations."

67. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention anything about physical education and recreation and does not suggest any plan for the same."

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Amendment Nos. 68 to 126. Mr. Gurudas Das Gupta not here. Mr. Chaturanan Mishra not here. Mr. Suraj Prasad not here Mr. Indradeep Sinha not here.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH (West Bengal): Sir, I move:

127. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the failure of the Government in taking effective steps to minimise accidents in coal mines."

128. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the failure of the Government to consult all Central trade unions and standing Labour Committees before bringing any labour legislation for enactment."

129. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the failure of the Government in formulating uniform policy for giving loans to the people of rural areas by nationalised bank."

130. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the failure of the Government to reduce the interest rates on loans given to marginal farmers and sharecroppers."

131. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the failure of the Government to bring down the prices the steel and cement."

132. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the failure of the Government to protect the handloom weavers of the country."

133. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the equitable distribution of river waters for irrigation purposes among various States."

134. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the threat to the integrity of the country from increasing communal and caste feelings and the steps taken to tackle the menace."

135. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not Mention about the failure to implement the land ceiing laws."

136. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the failure to end the vast disparity in the prices of agricultural commodities and industrial products."

137. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to enact a central legislation for agricultural workers."

138. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to provide housing sites to the landless poor and necessary financial assistance to them to construct houses."

139. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the clear and firm policy of the Government regarding nationalisation of industries."

140. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the punitive steps for deliberate violation of orders regarding reservations (order) for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes."

141. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to grant regional autonomy to the Nepali speaking people in three hill sub-divisions of the district of Darjeeling, within the State of West Bengal."

142. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need for providing more Central assistance for the development of hill areas in the district of Darjeeling."

143. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to develop tourism in the district of Darjeeling, which is one of the most beautiful tourist spots in the world."

144. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the failure of the Government to undertake concrete measures to revamp and rejuvenate the tea industry in the (Tea) district of Darjeeling."

145. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the failure of the Government to provide pension to agricultural labourers, widows and the disabled persons."

146. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need for exempting the poor and marginal farmers, bargadars and agricultural workers from the payment of agricultural and other Government loans and interest on cooperative loans throughout the country."

147. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the failure to put curbs on consumption by the rich."

148. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the curtailment of the State Governments' powers."

149. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Addres does not mention about the miseries and difficulties faced by thousands of tribal people displaced in the course of implementation of different projects in the country."

150. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the fact that the fruits of development are beyond the reach of a large section of population."

151. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the failure of the Go-

[Shri Dipen Ghosh]

vernment to evolve a policy to eradicate mass illiteracy from the country."

152. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mentions about the need to fight all obscurantist, communal and undemocratic ideas in the field of education."

153. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need for inclusion of Nepali, Maithili, Manipuri and Dogri languages in the Eighth Schedule to the Constitution."

154. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Addres does not mention about the failure of the Government in checking the recurrence of flood havoc in the country."

155. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need for adequate financial help to the States which are affected by drought, flood and other natural calamities."

156. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the increasing insecurity in rail travel."

157. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the increasing incidence of rail accidents and derailments."

158. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the fact that the countryside is still outside the purview of the public distribution system."

159. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the prevailing bonded labour system in the country."

160. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the child labour system prevailing in the country."

161. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the failure of the Government to give land/property rights to refugees from erstwhile East Pakistan, now settled in various parts of the country."

162. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the failure of the Government to locate one of the units of Bharat Electronics Limited in West Bengal."

163. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the failure of the Government to have a policy of national minimum wage."

164. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the threat being posed to the peace and security of the world by the U.S.A. due to its policy of heavy militarisation."

165. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the growing pressure from the Multinationals for security for themselves a free run of the underdeveloped countries so that neocolonialism could get back what old colonialism had lost."

166. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the US naval base in Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean, which is a constant threat to the security of the littoral States."

167. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the rapidly deteriorating international situation and the danger of war due to imperialists pursuing their policy of arms build-up, stationing new and powerful nuclear missiles in Europe, policing of the Gulf area and the Indian Ocean, with the expansion of existing bases like the nuclearised Diego Garcia and the setting up of new bases."

168. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the arming of Pakistan with lethal weapons by the United States of America and the resultant threat to the country's security."

169. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the continuance of the U.S. and Pakistan hostility towards and interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan."

170. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the failure of the Government to nationalise all the foreign assets in the country."

171. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the failure of the Government to nationalise the monopoly holdings of our country."

172. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the increasing impoverishment of the rural masses."

173. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need-based wage policy in India."

174. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need for radical land reforms in the interest of the peasants and agricultural labourers."

175. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the failure of the Government to curb the monopolists and foreign Multinationals in the country."

176. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the fact that the Government is giving further concessions to Monopolists and Multinationals."

177. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the deteriorating economic situation in the country, with the rate of inflation increasing day by day and resulting in steep rise in the prices of essential commodities."

178. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the allround attack on the living standards of the people through increased taxation and attacks on the wage of workers and employees."

179. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about that need for the aboli-

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tion of contract labour system in the country."

180. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the Government's failure to ensure equal pay and facilities for working women.

181. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the failure to reach the per capita minimum income and per capita minimum availability of many essential commodities to a majority of the population in the country.'

182. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the conspicuous consumption by the affluent and miserable living conditions of the vast majority of the common people."

183. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the mounting unemployment in the country."

184. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the inability of the Government to amend the Constitution to make right to work a Fundamental Right."

185. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the increasing atrocities on women in the country."

186. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the increasing menace of dowry-deaths in the country."

187. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the historical importance of the Supreme Court judgement in the Shah Bano Case."

188. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the U.S. Government's war-like threat to the Government of Libya."

189. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the act of air piracy by the USA over the Meditarian Sea."

190. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need for the setting up of a ship repairing yard in West Bengal."

191. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need for the setting up of a ship-building complex at Haldia in West Bengal."

192. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need for the setting up of an electronics unit in West Bengal."

193. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need for expansion and modernisation of the Durgapur Steel Plant, Alloy Steel Plant, Durgapur, IISCO, Burnpur and Kulti Works."

194. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the delay on the part of the Central Government to clear the West Bengal Governments proposal to set up new powers units in the State."

195. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the setting up of an IDPL unit in West Bengal."

196. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need for reopening of closed industrial units in West Bengal by nationalising these units."

197. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention that an unemployment allowance would be given to the unemployed persons till such time as they get a job"

198 .That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention that the post of Governor will be abolished and alternative institutional arrangements made for maintaining channels of communication between the Union and the States."

199. That at the *end of the Motion*, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention that the subject of education would be reverted to the State List."

200. That at the *end* of the Motion, the the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need for special grant to universities which the States cannot meet."

201. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that Address does not mention about the need for deletion of the Concurrent List and the transfer each of the items covered by it to the State List; (b) need for deletion of Article 248 and introduction of an explicit provision so that the residuary powers vest with the States and not with the Union; (c) need for deletion of, or amendments to, Articles 249, 252 and 254 so that no State could be deprived of any legislative powers which belong to it without its prior concurrence;

(d) need for deletion of Aricles 200 and 201 in their present form, and making it obligatory on the part of the Governor to give assent to all Bills passed by the State Legistlatures on item belonging to the State List."

202. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention that Articles 247 and 254 would be so amended that the Union Government's powers to legislate on items belonging to the State List do not exceed beyond a period of six months."

203. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention that the State Governments would be allowed parallel jurisdiction over radio and television."

204. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention that the planning would be decentralised right up to the village level".

205. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention that the objectives as adumbrated in the Industries (Development and Regulation) Act, 1951, would be redefined, and the responsibility for overall planning and licensing of industries would be transferred to the States."

206. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need for the setting up a nuclear plant in West Bengal."

207. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need for setting up of HMT Unit in West Bengal."

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208. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the per capita availability of many essential articles which is far short of the goals set for the Government in the early years of planning."

209. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the large number of bills passed by the West Bengal Legislature Assembly which are pending with the Central Government for Presidential assent since long".

210. That at the *end* of the Motion the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the mining accidents resulting in deaths of several hundred mine workers."

211. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the dangers of the elitist education sought to be introduced by the proposed new education policy"

212. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the failure of the Government to acquire surplus land in the country and distribute the land to the ladless labourers."

213. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the minimum wage to be introduced for working people."

214. That at the *end* of the Motion the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the failure of the Government to carry out the Directive principles as embodied in Articles 38, 30 and 4(to 50 in part IV of the Constitution."

215. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address es not mention about the failure of Government to guarantee the trade unions their rights of collective bargaining and trade union rights without any discrimination."

216. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the failure of the Government to set up a Committee consisting of sitting judges of High Courts to rectify existing erroneous working class consumer price index."

217. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the mismanagement and mal-administration in industrial unit taken over by the Government."

218. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the U.S. imperialism and Pakistan, who are trying to destabilise India through their nefarious activities of aiding and encouraging secessionist forces within the country".

219. That at the *end* of the Motion the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the U.S. imperialism which is trying to encircle India by establishing military bases around our country and by supplying sophisticated arms to the regimes hostile to democracy."

220. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the root causes which harm the unity and integrity of the country and failure of Govt. of define the ways to root them out.

221. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to immediately provide for compulsory and universal school education in the country."

222. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the sinitser role played by the Multinationals in the Third World by passing on to them their discarded technologies."

223. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need for abandonment of the Government's present policy of wooing the Multinationals."

224. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the failure of the Government to take long-term measures with a view to alleviating the obnoxious effects of the Bhopal tragedy."

225. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that Address does not mention about the distribution of public money through bank loans on the recommendations of Members of Parliament of Members of Parliament and Members of Legislative Assemblies belonging to Congress (I) Party."

250. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the problem of rehabilitation of refugees from erstwhile East Pakistan|Bangladesh to this country".

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Amendment Nos. 227 to 249. Mr. Upendra not here.

SHRI BISWA GOSWAMI (Assam): Sir. I move:

250. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the judgement of the Supreme Court in respect of Article 311 (2) of the Constitution which adversely affects the Government employees."

251. That at the *end* of the Motion the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the serious situation in Jammu & Kashmir causing violence and unrest."

252. That at *end* of the Motion the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about bringing in basic radical structural changes in the economic system."

253. That at the *end* of the Motion the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need for electoral reforms in the country."

254. That at the *end* of the Motion the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the failure of the Government to take effective measures to check growing industrial sickness."

255. That at the *end* of the Motion the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the steps for early trasfer of Chandigarh to Punjab and for full implementation of the Punjab Accord."

256. That at the *end* of the Motion the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the steps so far taken for the implementation of the Assam Accord."

257. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to give unemployment allowance to the unemployed persons."

[Shri Biswa Goswami]

258. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need for implementation of a composite price policy ensuring remunerative prices to peasant producers parity between the prices of agriculture produce and industrial products and inputs, limiting the difference in the prices paid to the primary producers and charged from the actual consumers to twenty per cent and guaranteeing supply of all essential commodities at controlled prices, through a net work of public distribution system by nationalising the wholesale trade."

259. That at the *end* of the the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the address does not mention about measures to be taken to nationalise jute, cotton textiles, sugar, vanaspati, medicines|drugs and other essential food-processing industries."

260. That at the *end* of the Motion, the followning be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the fact that, in most of the States, the implementation of land reforms, including the land ceilings and distribution of surplus land to the tiller has come to a dead halt."

261. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the fact that even after 37 years of Independence nearly one third of the Indian villages have not been provided with drinking water."

262. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the growing regional imbalance and the steps to correct them."

263. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the failure of the Government to unearth black money effectively."

264. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the growing economic disparities resulting in more and more people going below the proverty line."

265. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the increasing tentacles of Multinationals on the Indian economy."

The questions were proposed.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I have gone through the 12-pages President's Address. And though it was very tiresome, I listened to Mr. N.K.P. Salve's speech, 45-minute long speech, he made while moving the Motion of Thanks to the President.

Sir, I regret to point out that the President's Address hardly reflects the State of the nation as it is today. I also regret that despite his eloquence, Mr. Salve could not salvage it.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, in the President's Address the President says:

"Communalism continues to pose a serious threat to national unity. It is being reinforced by religious fundamentalism and fanaticism."

The President has also called upon the nation to isolate these forces of fundamentalism and communalism. But what an irony that after the President had delivered this speech, the next day the same Government brought in a legislation to appease the Muslim fundamentalists. And if that legislation is made into an Act, it would throw the Muslim women to the wolves of the male chauvinist world. This piece of legislation will deal a serious blow to the judiciary and to the concept of equality before the law. This is bound to promote sectarianism in the country that is already riddled with so many divisions and encourage each

community to retreat into a psychologically walled ghetto to of its own and damage the prospect of national identity taking precedence over more narrow lakes. If one group is so excluded, others will claim the same privilege or disqualification and that might be the beginning of the end of all common norms and institutions

We are told that a Minister of State of the Union Cabinet, Shri Arif Mohammad Khan, has resigned in protest against this move made by the Central Government. I congratulate him because he could show the courage to stand up against this move to appease the fundamentalists; and I will urge upon you, of you want to stand by his Address, if really want to stand by the Motion of Thanks which you have moved and support, to show your courage and force the Government to withdraw that Bill, because it has hurt not only the Muslim poor but has also hurt the Muslim intellectuals and muslim scholars now here in the Arab world has a Government brought forward such a type of legislation. And while we claim ourselves to be a secular country, we are bringing in a Bill with a nomenclature for giving certain rights to the Muslim divorced women...

SHRI KALPNATH RAI (Uttar Pradesh): But we are a secular country.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: ...and that nomenclature runs against that declaration in the Constitution.

The President again suggests in this Address that these trends of communalism represent a reactionary social outlook directed against the struggle of the poor and under-privileged against the vested interests.

SHRI KALPNATH RAI: We are against communal forces.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: It is a very good statement, but who is reinforcing it, Mr. Kalpnath Rai? Aren't you still in allianc with the caste and communal parties in Kerala? Aren't you still in alliance with the TUJS in Tripura? Aren't you still protecting the G.M. Shah Government in Kashmir?

SHRI KALPNATH RAI: Who declared the Muslim League non-communal first?

SHRI CHIMANBHAI MEHTA (Gujarat): You also supported it.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: All right, you will get your turn. (*Interruptions*) Yes, you were not born at that time in the political field. I have read the history. (*Interruptions*)

You read the history written by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and the history written by Jawaharlal Nehru (*Intrruptions*) What is happening in Gujarat now? Who is encouraging caste battle there to divide the downtrodden and to divide the toiling masses?

SHRI CHIMANBHAI MEHTA: Your party supported the partition of India. Why don't you think about it?

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Today, Kashmir is burning. But who is reponsible for this situation? Is it not the Congress-I responsible for this situation? Is not the Congress-I responsible? It is Congress-I who out of its sheer opportunism to share power combined with a communal force and dismissed the duly elected Government there. Sir, here it has been mentioned and Mr. Salve has also eloquently stated about Punjab. Punjab is again faced with a crisis-thanks to the Akali leadership vacillating and compromising stand and its lack of firmness to fight against the scessionists and extremists.

SHRI KALPNATH RAI: All Akalies are not communal? Your party supported the Akali party.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: But Congress-I and the Central Government must also share the responsibility of contributing to the deteriorating situation there. The delay in the transfer of Chandigarh have helped the scessionsts to decry the accord and create doubts about those who have signed it. The Water Commission could

[Shri Dipen Ghosh]

have been set up much earlier and by this time they could have given the award. Several priceless months have been lost in this way and the crisis has been allowed to accentuate.

Sir, the openly chauvinistic statement by the Haryana Chief Minister, Shri Bhajan Lal has added full to the fire. If the Central Congress-I High Command is not able to discipline Mr. Bhajan Lal it should give up the talk of keeping the country united. It is difficult to believe that Mr Bhajan Lal's chauvinistic and antinational militancy does not have the tacit approval of the Congress-I High Command.

Now, the President says that communalism is being reinforced by religious fundamentalism and fanaticism and these trends represent a reactionary secial outlook. I agree to it. But was it not the Congress-I party and the Central Government that were responsible by signing an anti-democratic and unprincipled accord in the name of solving Assam problem which has helped emergence of parties and groups based on ethnic communities, majority and minority communal groupings in the forefront of the State policy relegating all the national parties to back? Sir, it is good that the President has warned against this reactionary social outlook. But worse is his forgetfulness about mentioning the name of the forces which are behind this outlook? What is the purpose behind it? Is it not the imperialists who are encouraging the scessionsts and other trends to destabilise our country. But nowhere in this 12 pages Address is there is a mention about imperialist machinations which are encouraging these forces of regionalism or communalism.

SHRI KALPNATH RAI: At least you have pointed out.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: But your Salve has not pointed out.

SHRI KALPNATH RAI: Tomorrow I will point out.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Sir, is the Government not aware about the deep penetration of imperialist agencies into our country's administration? Mr Salve while opening his speech has stated about the trauma that was created following the assassination of Mrs Gandhi. He also said that it was shocking. Sir, was it a mere shocking? Was there no imperialist conspiracy behind it? But there is no mention of that in this Address. Who engineered the riots following the assassination of Mrs. Gandhi to hide the real culprits? Mr. Salve did not mention because it was not mentioned in this Address. Sir, have not the recent revealations through certain espionage cases confirmed the worst fears that our country's administration is honey combed by the imperialist espionage agencies which have been working here for the last three decades? Has it been mentioned here? Is there a single word about it in this Address? No. You look to the hostile neighbours—Pakistan, Srilanka, Bangladesh but you do not put your accusing finger at those who are behind such neighbours, who are using those neighbours to destablise our country. It is not mentioned here. Mr. Salve has pointed out that about the just struggle of the Palestinian people and your support. But what about U.S. blockade on Libya? Why didn't you mention it in this Address? You have mentioned about South Africa. Good. But what about U.S. veto by which Botha regime is continuing. Sir, here lies the weakness of our Government's foreign policy, though its primary objectives are to be advocacy of peace and nuclear disarmament and promotion of non-alignment. We support this political aspect of the foreign policy, the policy of non-alignment and peace but the weakness is that the ruling party is afraid to tell the truth to the people and mobilise them against it. They keep the masses in ignorance of danger from imperialist and that is seen here and that is why, not a single word has been mentioned about the imperialist machination to encourage the forces of fundamentalists, the forces of regionalists to destablise the country. Why? You nod your head Mr. Kalapnath Rai but why are you afraid to tell the truth to the people? Why are you afraid to

mobilise the people against the U.S. imperialist and their machinations? Why your Government is so keen to avoid mentioning of the name of U.S. imperialist here? Because your party, the Congress(I) and the Government belong to the same system, the capitalist system, pursuing of which has enmeshed the country into a deep crisis.

SHRI KALPNATH RAI: We are committed to socialism.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Yes, you are committed for socialism but you are pursuing the capitalist path of development and you belong to the same system, the capitalist system and that is why, you are silent about its mentioning. What do you say? You say, even after the assassination of the Prime Minister:

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> "The visit to USA has significantly enlarged the content of our bilateral relations with the USA."

You had no cheek to say that their agencies are all encouraging these forces to destabilise our country.

Now, to overcome the crisis, the Central Government has gone in for World Bank and IMF loans with the conditionalities of fleecing the poor people through increasing administered prices and withdrawal of subsidy on foodgrains and fertilisers. This Government is now going to reinforce the free market economic structure taking the World Bank and IMF line. Now they are making come hither overtures to Western multinationals. They are opening the floodgrates to foreign technology, gearing the Indian economy to exports to Western countries, keeping the Indian people hungry and underfed. This new economic strategy is not only fraught with the danger of ruining our economic independence, our economic development, but it also runs the risk of endangering the political aspect of our foreign policy, the foreign policy of non-alignment and peace. So I warn the Government you must reverse this policy. If you wan to have any lessons drawn from the experience of the Latin American countries, you will have to reverse these policies. And if you don't reverse these policies, the people have shown the path today by observing "Bharat bandh" against these policies. If you can read the writing on the wall, well and good. But if you can't the people of India will assert themsleves and get these policies reversed, though by way of brute majority you can pass this Motion of Thanks on the Address which contains some platitudinous declarations while you are doing exactly the contrary of what you have stated here.

SHRI ANAND SHARMA (Himachal Pradesh): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the Motion of Thanks moved by my esteemed colleague, Shri Salve. The President's Address is a correct appraisal of the political and economic situation in the country. It does not merely contain, as said by Mr. Dipen Ghosh, declarations or promises. It is a statement on the fulfilment of those promises, redeeming of those pledges which were made last year. Sir, the President's Addres has listed significant achievements which the Government has made in spite of the serious challenges faced by the nation. Our friends on the other side seem to forget the tragic background, the challenging circumstances in which Shri Rajiv Gandhi was entrusted with the responsibility to lead the nation. The aftermath of Shrimati Indira Gandhi's assassination when the nation's enemies were active, when the forces of violence and communalism were trying to rip the nation apart he rose above his great personal grief and tragedy and has led the nation in an admirable manner. He has extricated the nation from that situation and he has given stability, strength and direction to India. The promises of judicial reforms and administrative reforms, emancipation of women and a better future for our youth, a new education policy and a healthy, clean, public life, have been redeemed. The anti-defection law today is on the Statute Book. Contributions to political parties have been legalised. There has been a crusade against black money, against tax evaders. If these are not steps for a healthy and clean public life, then what they mean it is difficult for us to understand. Today we have a separate Ministry for women. There has been in

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the past a long delay in the dispensation of justice and to overcome such delay, to make justice available to the poor at their doorsteps, the Government has set up the Lok Adalat. The setting up of Administrative Tribunals will certainly lesesn the burden on the courts and also help in overcoming the delays which are presently there in the courts of law. For the young people the Government has given new hope with the new education policy which has been discussed and debated in the last Session. Last year the Government had presented a Status Paper on Education and in a most democratic manner, in a very healthy spirit, we all discussed it. The Paper identified the problems confronting education and listed the priorities. Education today is very vital for national development. Educational planning is required to be linked with economic planning. Uniess and until there is harmony, there is proper coordination, we cannot maintain the pace of development. And today this new education policy with correct emphasis on vocationalisation is on the anvil.

There has been a talk about foreign policy. Mr. Dipen Ghosh spoke just now questioning the commitment of this Government to non-alignment. He has conveniely forgotten in what manner the Government has identified itself. with the poor and the downtrodden not only in India but all over the world, how we have supported the liberation movements, be it the cause of the Palestnian people or those who are struggling in South Africa and Namibia. The Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, has continued with those very policies which were framed during the time of Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru and pursued by late Shrimati Indira Gandhi. The Prime Minister's visits have been mentioned here in the President's Address. The strong stand which he took at Bahamas Commonwealth Summit and at the United Nations is known to every person in the world. We do not require a certificate regarding our commitment to non-alignment or our support to the people of South Africa or Palestine from Mr. Dipen Ghosh or other friends in the Opposition. The whole world knows about it.

Now coming to economy, the economy has been managed in a brilliant manner to the satisfaction of all. As is evident, if we look at the four sectors, the agricultural production and the foodstocks, the foreign exchange reserves position and the industrial growth and added to it the revenue collection. Today the foodgrain reserves are 24.42 million tonnes; the industrial growth has registered a rise of 6.3 per cent inflation has not only been contained but has been brought down to 4.8 per cent in revenue collection so far this year there has been an overall increase of 22.8 per cent. The target for this year initially was Rs. 25,209 crores and the revised target gvien by the Finance Minister is Rs. 27,730 crores. This is as a result of the policy which has a vision, which is pragmatic, and because of the manner in which Government's tax laws have been enforced in this country. But buoyancy is not there only because of the indirect taxes. Direct tax collection is also going to cross five thousand crores of rupees. But there is a cause for anxiety and that is with regard to our balance of trade. That the Government itself has admitted. Yesterday. in this House. Sir, there was a debate on the price hike and the Finance Minister himself pointed out these things. But the situation does not daly for despair. It has resulted partly because of a worldwide recession in trade and also partly because of the fact that our exports have not picked up and the imports have increased. Today, the situation calls for selective constraints on imports. We have to be very selective and we agree there and we must encourage exports in all fields to ensure that the foreign exchange reserve position improves. But the Government has taken timely steps in awakening the nation, in cautioning the nation and it is on this background that the present has been there. But the Opposition parties have conveniently forgotten this and they have held a bandh and taken recourse to political expediency to provoke the people and to mislead them about the present price hike. Never in their past history, in their approach and in their

attitudes, have they sided with the nation. They have never tried to side with the nation and have never tried to support the Government in grappling with these problems, Sir.

SHRI SUSHIL CHAND MOHUNTA: *If we do that, what will you do?*

SHRI ANAND SHARMA: You listen to me; I will come to that.

Today, Sir, the commitment of the Congress(I) to the cause of the poor is questioned. It is a very sad thing and it is very unfortunate. The Congress (I) has always identified itself with the hopes and aspirations of the Indian people. This commitment is not something which is new. This commitment has been there ever since the days of our Freedom struggle when the leaders like Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru and other Congress leaders, while touring the country, studied the problems of the people the social and economic problems and, after the independence of the country, when the Constitution was being written, the Congress redeemed its pledge. The very adoption of the system of parliamentary democracy and the concept of democratic socialism is proof enough. Since our Independence, in spite of the serious challenges which this nation has faced, the various invasions, the internal subversions, the periods of trials and tribulations, in spite of all these, we have continued to march ahead. How? The only reason has been the pragmatic approach and the right policies, policies meant for the poor and the downtrodden.

Today, when we look back it the reforms which have been there since Independence, the social and economic reforms, the abolition of jagirdari and the zamindari systems, the nationalisation of banks, the land reforms, the 20-Point Economic Programme given by the late Shrimati Indira Gandhi, we will realise that all these demonstrate the commitment of the Congress (I) to the poor people of this country. The nation has developed and made significant achievements in all fields. I need not go into details. But, it well look back, we must ask what the picture was in 1947 and what the picture today is. I was not born in 1947. But I have read about that picture of economic backwardness, social and economic exploitation and so on. But my friends who are trying to belittle the achievements of this country were mature enough then—and I hope even now they are—to differentiate and to make a comparison between what was there then and what we have achieved in the field of agriculture, in the field of science and technology, in the field of space science, etc. This achievements must not be belittled. If this approach and if this attitude continue, it will lead only to one thing: Growth of cynicism. And any nation in which deliberate moves are there to spread cynicism, cannot develop, cannot survive. cannot march ahead. Our Friends in the Opposition must realise that democracy does give them the right to opposition must realise that democracy does give them the right to oppose. But the opposition. Sir, has to be through a reasoned debate. The Opposition has the right to differ, the right to question Govrnemnt's policies. But this opposition should not mean confrontation. Reasoned debate should not way to street violence bandhs and strikes. This is against the spirit of democracy. Any agitation any approach which unless the forces of violence is it dangers thing. In free India we have chosen democracy. But this right to differ does not mean a licence to create chaos and anarchy.

Today we find two disturbring features, Sir. One is the deliberate attempt to subvert democracy and to subotage the process of devlopment and economic growth. We all as Indians must not forget. It is very unfortunate when we find our friends on the other side proudly saying that today there has been a Bharat Bandh, there has been a strike by the employees. They are working to bring factories to a halt, to stop production, for a day in Bengal for a day in Tripura, for a day in Delhi, for a day in Andhra whom it is going to help? Are you not further harming the poor people? Are you not subverting the democratic process? Are you not subverting development? This is my question. It is ironical that in case of Bengal the Government itself calls for a strike. Something unheard

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of. I think in Andhra Pradesh also they have done so today.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA (Andhra Pradesh): No, no. The Government have not done it; it is the party.

SHRI ANAND SHARMA: Thank you. If the Left Front wanted to agitate, if the Left Front wanted to expose the 'anti-people policies, it would have been wise for them to agitate against the Joyti Basu Govrnment for its inept performance a Government which is guilty of mismanagement of the economy, a Government which had failed to mobilise resources for the Sixth Five Year Plan, a Government which could not properly utilise grants meant for anti-poverty programmes. It is the performance of that Government. And this Chief Minister calls for *bandhs* and strikes.

SHRIMATI KANAK MUKHERJEE (West Bangal): What is it we are discussing?

SHRI ANAND SHARMA: West Bengal is part of India :

SHRIMATI KANAK MUKHERJEE : Are we discussing West Bengal? Then their should be time for reply also. (*Interruptions*).

AN HON MEMBER: She is calling other friends (*Interruptions*).

SHRI ANAND SHARMA: In this particular case that Government is aware of the alienation of the people. Their performance stands exposed. I think that Government is taking recourse to cheap public stunts of shift the blame on the Centre. Let me remind my friends that this is the path followed by the weak and the timid. They are the ones who cannot accept the blame for their failures. Sir, the second disturbing feature is the growth of fundamentalism and the activities of the forces of violence. The Prime Minister and the Government hav done a great service to the nation. The Prime Minister by signing the two accords on Punjab and Assam—though my friends, Mr. Dipen Ghosh has questioned the Assam accord—has demonstrated that this Government is a Government of national unity and brought back to them national mainstream those who were weaned away from it on communal lines and on parochial considerations. The very fact that an overwhelming percentage of people in these two States has participated in the democratic process is support enough for the Accords, is support enough for democracy. Every vote cast in Punjab, every vote cast in Assam has been a a vote for the accord, a vote for the stand taken by Shri Rajiv Gandhi and his Government. And I congratulate the Government. These two Accords and the policy follwed have been in the larger national interests. And when elections were called our friends in the Opposition, we all recall, opposed it. They said that the elections will lead to violence and killings. But the elections were held in a most peaceful and democratic manner. That was the victory of the forces of democracy over the forces of terrorism. But even today the threat remains. Even today the force of violence and communalism are active. Is it not a major threat which calls for a national effort, a consensus? Is there any difference of opinion about it? By not fighting the forces of communalism and Parochialism, are our friends in the Opposition not indirectly weakening the nation's resolve in fighting those forces? Are you not indirectly encouraging those very forces with whom you shared the platform? (*Interruptions*)

SHRI K. MOHANAN (KERALA): It is your Party which is encouraging.

SHRI ANAND SHARMA: You must join the national effort...

SHRI K. MOHANAN: You created Bhindrawale. You created Assam. And you created those communal and divisive forces...

SHRIMATI KANAK MUKHERJEE: you introduced the Muslim Bill...

SHRI MOHANAN: You are ruling this country and it is your responsibility to contain it.

SHRI ANAND SHARMA: Don't agitated just relax. Sir, their attitude now also

demonstrates their lack of faith in democracy. They are not permitting to say what is the truth. What I say is the truth, and I am saying it with all responsibility. Nobody is questioning that the first priority before the nation today is to meet the challenge of fundamentalism and parochialism. And any attempt to divert that attention, to weaken that resolve is to indirectly aid and abet those very forces which are trying to rip the nation apart.

Sir, our friends have spoken a lot about the price rise and about the threat to the public sector or the anti-poverty programmes. (*Time-well rings*) Sir. in the Sixth Plan the performance shows that the Govment has vigorously implemented the anti-poverty programmes. As against a target of covering 15 million familiese, 16.6 million families have been covered under the anti-poverty programmes. Sir, the objectives of the Seventh Five Year Plan area—a national employment campaign, a campaign for the eradication of poverty and to continue more vigorously with anti-poverty programmes like the IRDP, the NREP and the RLEGP. It demonstrates again the resolve of the Government, the commitment of the Government. It is fair to call such a Government to be anti-poor and pro-rich, a Government which has not only in the Past successfully implemented these programmes but also continues now with the same programmes, a Government which has launched a crusade against those who are blackmarketeers, those who evade tax laws against those who are responsible for building and strengthening a parallel economy. Are these all actions pro-rich or pro-poor? The Government has time and again declared that the public sector continues to be the hub of our economy. Even in the Seventh Plan the same importance has been given to the public sector. In spite of that there are friends who talk of the threat of multinationals and I would like to explain it saying that this will jeopardize the political and economic freedom of India. The Prime Minister and the Government do have the wisdom and the ability to watch the nation's interests. Those who talk of the threat of multinationals, are the ones who have given invitations to multinationals. Their fight with the Government of India has been to given them more licenses and permission for such ventures. The maximum requests received by the Government of India from any State Government for licences for multinationals have been from the Government of West Bengal. I would like to state here that the Government today is fully capable of safeguarding the nations interests. The Government has taken hard and painful decisions, Sir, to awaken the nation about the threat, the Government has cautioned the people to meet these challenges of development for a better future for future generations and the nation must be prepared for sacrifices. (*Time Bell rings*). It was the sacrifice of our ancestors, those who fought for the freedom, that we inherited a free India. We have to sacrifice for posterity so that they inherit a strong, vibrant and self-reliant India. (*Time Bell rings*).

Sir, today, before I concude, it is the period of innovation and change and change which is within the framework of continuity and a change at a pace which means meeting the requirements of the present age and prepares the nation for future. The Prime Minister had given a commitment to prepare the nation for the 21st century. There are friends who laugh at it. But the 21st century is not far away, hardly 5200 days away and the nation must be mentally prepared he must build a scientific temperament so that we can compete with those who are advanced in the field of high technology and electronics. (*Time Bell rings*).

I am just concluding, Sir. There are friends who are questioning this approach. These very forces opposed Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru when he gave the concept of planned development, when he gave the call for rapid industrialisation in India. Those friends had then said that ours is an agrarian economy, we must concentrate on agriculture and industrialisation will not help India. Had Jawaharlal Nehru and the Congress Government listened to them. India would have been a backward and weak nation

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today. Even for the development of agriculture they conveniently forgot, or they were ignorant, that we required modern technology for fertiliser, for tubewells, for tractors. Today we must not forget that we in India or the countries in Asia and Africa, we missed 300 years ago the industrial revolution and we paid a heavy price for that. Today a new revolution is overtaking the world. We cannot be caught napping. We cannot miss thing secound revolution and for this it calls for a national effort. All of us have to be aware of these realities to have a realistic approach. And I will request my friends in the opposition to do some selfintrospection. They have not learnt any lessons from their past mistakes. The only approach, the only way you can regain your lost credibility is by having a constructive approach and not by confrontation. Follow the path of consensus. Otherwise the credibility is lost beyond hope. The cheap populist stunts... (*Time Bell rings*). Just a minute more, Sir. To conclude, I would say that the President's Address has given the correct position of the political and economic trends. The nation today is poised for a major leap. The country has the strength. The Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, has the dynamism and determination. He has the sincerity and vision and this nation has the strength. Let us all take today a joint pledge, a common pledge, to fight against fundamentalism, against the forces of violence and work to build an India which marches into the new century as a powerful, self-reliant and vibrant nation. With these words I thank you for having been very kind and indulgent to me and I thank all my friends in the opposition for inturrepting me, though briefly.

SHRI R. MOHANARANGAM (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Deputy Chairman, I am very much thankful to you for having given me the opportunity to speak on the President's Address for the year 1986. While going through the President's Address, I find on page 2 where he has stated: "In my Address on January 17, 1985, I had outlined the major policies and programmes of the Government" and he has given ten items, out of which he has stated that almost all the items have been fulfilled very satisfactorily. I am not in a position to accept everything that the President has stated in his Address. I have to appreciate the Government for having taken so much of pains to solve Punjab and Assam problems, for conducting elections somewhat satisfactorily.

As far as my party is concerned, we are very much concerned about the price level, about the education policy, industrial policy and some other minor items. With regard to price level, I do not understand when one Congress Member came forward and said that because of increase in the price of petrol, there will be reduction in the consumption of petrol. I really wondered how was it possible.

[The Vice-Chairman (Shrimati Kanak Mukherjee) in the Chair]

Madam, when the price of petrol per litre was Rs. 2, the number of cars in Madras was 20,000. When the price was increased to Rs. 4 per litre, the number of cars increased to 40,000. When the petrol price was increased to Rs. . . per litre, the number of cars in Madras City was more than 1—1|2 lakh. I do not know how they are going to reduce the consumption of petrol and all other minor items which are so essential for a middle class family. Not only they have increased the price of petrol, they have increased the price of cooking gas and kerosene and other items and I don't understand how they say that they are going to keep up with all this. Probably, that is the reason why there has been a set-back in the recent elections in Madras City and in Tamil Nadu.

In para 14, the President has mentioned about education policy. It says: "The Challenge of Education. This was intended to stimulate wide and intensive national debate on issues and alternatives... A draft of the new Education policy will be presented shortly to Parliament." What is their new education Policy? I would like to know what exactly they are

going to frame as the rules and regulations of the new Education Policy. During the last debate, the hon. Minister for Education said that it is going to bring about uniformity in education. This of course is now on Concurrent List. Our Tamil Nadu Government has a different programme; you have a different programme with 3-language formula in northern States, in my State, they have only a 2-language formula. We give importance to English and Tamil. You give importance to English and Hindi. When this is the position, I do not know how you are going to introduce rules and regulations and bring about uniformity through the new education policy. Some of the Ministers are here. They are sitting and speaking with one another. I would like to ask the Ministers present here. I would like to ask each and every one of the Ministers present here whether they will come forward and say that they will be bringing before Parliament the new education policy and that they will be able to implement it. I would like to ask each and every one of the Ministers sitting here who are chatting with each other. Our Minister of Transport is here. They are not listening to us. I would like to ask the Ministers here, whether anybody can stand before me and say that he is giving importance to Hindi language. I know Mr. Scindia. He is sending his children only to English-medium convents. Mr. Bansi Lal here. He is sending his children only English-medium convents. I do not know whether Mr. Kalp Nath Rai has any issue. If at all he has, he will definitely send his children only to English-medium convents. When the Ministers are not in a position to come forward and say that they are sending their children to Hindi-medium schools, I do not know how they going to ensure uniformity through the new education policy. When they themselves are not in a position to say this, when they themselves are not giving importance to Hindi language, they are asking us to come forward and learn Hindi.

Madam, I would also like to point out that not only the people in the North, Ministers and others, but Ministers of my Party as well as former Ministers and very important persons including Mohanarangam are also sending their children to English medium convents, like Church Park, Don Bosco and others. We are not giving that much importance to the regional languages. Why should I hide the facts? From the North to the South, people in this country, many important persons, people belonging to the middle-class, are giving importance only to English. You say that you are going to implement the new education policy and ensure uniformity. But I would like to ask, how many of you are giving importance to Hindi? I had asked some of the Ministers. I asked Mr. V.P. Singh who was sitting in the House at that time. I asked him where he is sending his children for studies. He is sending his children to the Doon School or to the other important English convent, Columbas. When this is the position, why should you hide the facts? when this is the position, how can you ask the people belonging to the upper-middle class, middle-class and lower-middle.class to learn Hindi and other regional languages. There is no use of introducing uniformity in education. We have got different ways. They have got different ways. When this is the situation, I do not know how they are going to implement the new education policy.

Now, Madam, I come to the Sri Lankan issue. The President has very rightly pointed out that—this is in paragraph 38—they remain concerned about the ethnic situation in Sri Lanka. The President has also said "We remain convined that the situation in Sri Lanka can be settled only through political means." They are very much concerned about the ethnic situation in Sri Lanka and they say that this can be settled only through political means. If they are in a position to solve this problem, if the Government of India is in a position to solve the Sri Lankan problem, by political means, why have they not done anything during the last so many years? Especially, in the last one year, if you read the newspapers, you will find that not a single day passes without your reading that some half a dozen or some ten or twenty people have been killed. If you total it, it would come to more than 5,000. This we are

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seeing daily. If you open the newspapers, whether it is pro-Congress or anti-Congress, you will find that on an avearage some ten or ewenty persons are Killed daily. Innocent people have been killed. This is not a fight between the Sri Lankan Government and the Tamils. This is a fight between the Sri Lankan Army and the civilians. Of course, they can send the Army to maintain law and order, ensure peaceful life. But they are sending the Army to kill innocent people. Our Government says they want to solve this problem. They say, something at Delhi and something else in Sri Lanka. When we ask our Prime Minister, he says it is an international issue. If it is only an international issue, how are we going to solve it? Even the other day when myself and Mr. Upendra were discussing with him, he said: "I am not in a position to convince Mr. N. T. Ramarao, how can I convert Mr. Jayawardene"? I would like to ask one thing. Mr. Jayawardene may be the President of Sri Lanka, but considering the humanitarian point of view, considering the fact that hundred of innocent Tamilians are being killed every day, why are we keeping quiet? Are Tamilians not part and parcel of Indian citizens? If any citizen who belongs to a different part of this country is killed, suddenly within 24 hours we raised our voice on the floor of Parliament and intimate to our High Commissioner or Ambassador in that country and ask him to take action at once. But here we are not in a position to take any action because they are really 2000 miles away from the capital! We intimate to our prime Minister very often, we intimate to the Government and Minister of External Affairs very often with regard to the condition of Srilankan Tamils but no proper action has been taken. Whenever we press them, they say "it is an international problem, this cannot be tackled". When we take the problem of South Africa and some other countries as a national problem why should we not treat this problem also as a national problem and take speedy measures to solve it. I am not asking you to fight with them. But I find there is no verbal war even this is the situation. Anyway, the problem of Tamils in Sri Lanka we are going to discuss and therefore I shall not discuss it here very elaborately.

The President has also said something about judicial reforms. Every session we discuss it. Not a single session passes without discussing this problem. Even in the last session we discussed about the salaries of judeges. Lakhs of cases are pending in the Supreme Court and High Courts. We are not in a position to appoint more Judges. The number of cases should be reduced. The number of Judges should be increased. Even very small cases go to these courts. If at all Government comes forward and spends 40-50 lakhs for the construction of a bridge, the pavement dwellers just get a stay order from the court and two to three years pass before the commencement of the work. This is the present situation in the country. All such small, petty cases should not be allowed to go to the Supreme Court and High Courts. These should be settled by tribunals or some village or panchayat courts. We find in West Bengal in a small village when they want to construct a bridge, they go to the High Court and get a stay order. Then for nearly two to three years they have to fight for the commencement of the work. This situation should be taken into account and hereafter judicial reforms should be done in such a way that only major, big and important cases go to the High Courts and Supreme Court and not these petty cases.

Then the President has mentioned abou the major industries. This is the fourth o fifth time I am speaking on this subjec Not even a single district in my State c Tamil Nadu was taken into account as "backward district". This has been point out on the floor of the House very ofte and I talked to the Minister of Industry person. I asked him to come to Tam Nadu and see how many districts a there where he will find backwardne But he says, according to their own s tistics, they could not find even a sin district as backward district. Even after t implementation of Talukvar and af issuing the list containing names of Tal in each and every district, only one Ta was included as backward Taluk, nam

Sriperumbudur. I do not know what is the measure of backwardness and what are the statistics which they get from where. Even when the other day a question was asked about the number of problem villages with regard to drinking water, it was stated that in Andhra Pradesh—the State which is giving water to us—there were 147 villages, in Uttar Pradesh 2000 villages and in Pondicherry in a small portion of South Arcot district there were 7 villages, whereas in Tamil Nadu they have mentioned the number as "nil". That means there is no problem village in Tamil Nadu. I do not know how these statistics are collected. In whole of Tamil Nadu there is no problem village whereas in Andhra Pradesh from where we get water there are 147 problem villages.

Uttar Pradesh has 2,000-odd, Assam 8,000-odd and Pondicherry, which is only a Union territory, has only seven villages. I do not know what exactly the reason is. He has mentioned something about drinking water problem and that is why I have mentioned all these things.

With regard to the Ganga, of course, the President has mentioned in his Address. Here I would like to say something about our Telugu Ganga project, a very fine project initiated by both the South Indian Chief Ministers, namely, MGR and MTR. It is two years since we started this project but nothing has been done so far. We have spent 50 to 60 crores of rupees. The Government of India should come forward and say that the Telugu Ganga scheme should be implemented at once, for which they should be implemented at once for which they should give sufficent financial aid.

I had raised a question during a special mention on 20th December 1985 wherein I have asked something about the Sethusamudram ship canal project, a very important canal project which links the eastern and western coasts of the southern States and from Madras to Bombay you can go through this canal. I have received a reply from Mr. Ajit Kumar Panja, the honourable Minister. He has stated that the proposal was examined in the Planning Commission but, however, it was not found viable in financial or economic terms. This is the reply given to me by the honourable Minister. In the year 1978 when I raised the same question, the Minister concerned in the then Janata Government said this scheme was viable, they were ready to take up the scheme and that they would intimate us shortly. That was the response of that Government and this is the response of this Government. I do not know which one is correct.

SHRI K. MOHANAN: This Government itself is non-viable!

SHRI R. MOHANARANGAM: You can say that.

Then, we have asked for extension of the Integral Coach Factory in Madras, for which a very brilliant answer was given by the Minister concerned. He has said, "In terms of Government's latest decision, an integral coach factory is to be located in Punjab." Of course there are so many ways of satisfying your Punjab people. They can give special grants for rehabilitation, they can give special grants for setting up gigantic and big industries. But it should not be at the cost of a very poor State like Tamil Nadu by completely stopping the second extension of the Integral Coach Factory and shifting it from Madras to Punjab. I would like to request the Minister concerned, through you, for giving an opportunity to have one more integral coach factory in the name of extension of the existing coach factory by spending only Rs. 17 crores whereas they are going to spend Rs. 67 crores in Punjab for this. Let them spend even Rs. 100 crores for Punjab. I do not have any animosity towards the Punjab people; rather I have got all the affection for these people. But, for my State I want that an extension should be made of the present factory.

With regard to the Salem steel plant, it was inaugurated by Mr. Kamaraj, the former Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu during the Prime Ministership of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Pandit Nehru stated that this project would be one of the best projects in the country that would supply steel for the whole of the country. Now I have received a letter stating that the Salem steel plant costing Rs. 187.03 crores was commissioned in September 1981, and now an outlay

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of only Rs. 16.06 crores has been provided in the 7th Plan for various schemes under the Salem steel plant. Only Rs. 16.06 crores whereas they were going to spend 12 to 15 crores of rupees 25 years before. Now they say they are going to spend only Rs. 16.06 crores during the 7th Five Year Plan, that is, for the coming five years. Kindly see the value of Rs. 16.06 crores now and of Rs. 12 crores in the 60s. I do no know why they reduce the estimated amount for the schemes which we have in the southern part of the country only. If you take the statistics, one by one I can show you how in the northern parts they can spend hundreds and hundreds of crores whereas when it comes to the south, may be because of the geographical position since the space narrows down there, they are reducing the amount also there. Somebody should be responsible to see that such things should not happen...

Madam, I have mentioned something about the Integral Coach Factory. I face certain troubles along with my friends and Members who come from Mardas to Delhi. There was a direct flight. Really on my part it may not be good to spend some time for just discussing about this direct flight when I speak on the President's Address. Mr. Bansi Lal, the Minister concerned is here. Considering the importance of that issue, I would like to say that just six years before . . . (*Time bell rings*). What is this Madam? I have 32 minutes. Just see there.

SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN: He has got ten minutes more.

SHRI R. MOHANARANGAM: They reduce the grant, and you also reduce the time. I am the only person speaking. Why should you just stop me when I have ten minutes more?

In the year 1978 when there was a direct flight from Mardas to Delhi and vice versa, Delhi to Mardas, they have completely stopped it and introduced a new route to Mardas from Delhi via Nagpur. We are expected to halt at Nagpur and spend some 45 minutes under the hot sum at Nagpur and afterwards we go to Mardas. If you see the Civil Aviation map, you will find that the longest route is from Delhi to Mardas. When the Government changed, they introduced the direct route. That is in the year 1980. Just two months back, to our surprise, this direct flight was completely stopped. A new route was introduced from Delhi to Bangalore. It is a direct route. I do not have anything against—Mr. Gurupadaswamy is not here—the Karanataka Mambers or the Karnataka people. We also go to Bangalore we want direct flight to Bangalore. What is the reason of stopping completely this direct flight very often, once in two years and once in three years that too when passengers are standing in queue to purchase tickets? If you go at 5 o'clock to the Palam Airport, you can find hundreds of passengers for Madras. They will be waiting in the queue, standing in the queue, to purchase the tickets. The Duty Officers will say, "You come tomorrow and day after tomorrow." If it is not commercially viable, you can just stop it. When hundreds of passengers are not in a position to get tickets for Madras daily, I do not know how they have stopped the direct flight and introduced a flight from Delhi to Madras via Hyderabad. The Hyderabadis are very lucky people because geographically it is situated in the middle of the country. They have routes from Delhi to Hyderabad, Madras to Hyderabad, Bangalore to Hyderabad, Hyderabad to Bangalore. Almost all the flights stop at Hyderabad. As a man who goes to Hyderabad very often, I too like it. But what about the persons who go to Madras directly from Delhi? If I start at 5-15, I would reach Madras by 10-15. By that time if I go to Singapore, I can reach one hour earlier. In my own country I have to spend five to six hours in flight. So, I request the hon. Minister, Mr. Bansi Lal who has got a soft corner towards our State, who always uses to come to Madras, to introduce a new route from Madras to Delhi and Delhi to Madras along with a flight via Hyderabad.

Finally, he has mentioned something about the electoral reforms. This is my third term, I believe. When I come to Parliament, I am expected to submit my accounts. But I do not think have submitted my correct accounts so far. I am asked to spend only Rs. 75,000 for the

whole of my six constituencies in Tamil Nadu State when I contest for the Lok Sabha. How is it possible? Let us not imagine impossibilities. I have to spend five to ten thousand rupees in a single day. The next day I am expected to spent fifteen thousand rupees. By the time I enter the Parliament House and take the oath by giving a certificate stating that I have given the correct account. I have entered here with some bluff, by fraudulent means and cheating the public and I enter as Member of Parliament. The Government should come forward to finance the elections. Even for the Municipal elections, do you mean to say that by spending Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 10,000 we can succeed there, while they spend lakhs and lakhs for municipalities? When that is the case I do not know why we should hide. Everyone knows fully well all these things. Even the famous and a very good Parliamentarian like Shri Lal K. Advani is expected to spend more than a lakh of rupees for coming to Lok Sabha. Then how could he expect others like me to come forward and get success by spending only Rs. 10 to Rs. 15 thousand. I am not giving correct figures now. If I give correct flights, I will be caught.

AN HON. MEMBER: If Prime Minister by spending within Rs. 5,000 can come to Parliament, why can't others come?

SHRI CHIMANBHAI MEHTA: That is all a matter of honeymoon.

SHRI R. MOHANARANGAM: When you go for honeymoon, why just go through the window?

So, even though in one or two items I am fully convinced, yet in regard to other items what he has stated is the same what was stated in 1985. I think it would have been better to concentrate on so many other important issues such as Sri Lanka matter, education policy, textile policy, judicial reforms, administrative policy and other things on which our country will definitely go to dogs.

SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU: (Orissa): I rise to support the Vote of Thanks Motion on the President's Address. The President's Address is a constitutional obligation in a Cabinet form of Government. In his Address to both the Houses the President speaks of the past achievements and the future hopes and progress of the nation as envisaged by the Government.

The hon. President has very rightly pointed out the most important events of the last year and how the country was undergoing a very crucial stage because of the two issues — Punjab and Assam problems.

In the beginning paragraph the President has very rightly said that Punjab Accord has been drawn, an election has been held there and a democratic Government has been set up there after the election. Now, after this a time has come when a sense of realisation should come in the nation and that we must separate religion from politics. The fundamental religion, which prevailed during the medieval period should not prevail over this country and secularism must prevail in our country. When we fought for the freedom of the country. Father of the Nation had made a pledge that we would follow the policy of secularism. So it is the responsibility not only of the Government, but of all who belong to this supreme political institution — Parliament —to see that the constitutional place of secularism is maintained and political and ideological differences do not hamper the integrity of the nation. This is the fundamental question today.

In Assam also an elected Government has been installed. Let peace, rule of law and order prevail there and the integrity of the nation maintained. This is what the Prime Minister has tried to do. The Prime Minister has been congratulated by the nation for taking these bold steps in the Punjab Accord and in conducting elections in Assam. Thereby whichever party has come to power will function within the fabric of the Indian Nation and that the Indian nation will go on prospering in spite of the super-power games in the Indian Ocean and surrounding areas to try to convert India into the terrorist centre of activities.

Madam, we are aware of the last year's tragic incident — the crash of Kanishka.

[Shri Santosh Kumar Sahu]

The Inquiry Commission is there, but we know how the terrorists who were trained in different countries abroad with different purposes tried to sabotage it. We know how they tried to sabotage our 5 P.M. plane. How much loss we suffered on that account we know. The democratic countries who are giving shelter to these extremists should ensure that these forces are not allowed to destabilise India. This is one of the fundamental problems which we are facing. We are in a crisis. We must be conscious of this national outlook.

Regarding my second point, the President has rightly pointed out in his Address that communalism continues to pose a serious threat to our national unity. In spite of the best efforts of the Government there are occasions wherein communalism has flared up. As a student of politics I would like to say that the highest political institutions like the Parliament and different political parties should think in terms of national scenario. We have to create a new strength of national unity and national integration among the youh so that these fissiparous tendencies are not allowed to raise their ugly head. This is the prime need of this country today.

When this new Government assumed power it has brought anti-defection Act to set a new tone in public life. I think it is a very bold step that our Government has taken. They wanted to clean political life and administrative set up. My third point is about Lok Adalats. In this connection, I would like to say that '*panchnama*' used to exist at the village levels in our society some hundred years back. At this '*panchnama*' many cases used to be disposed of. At that time the social awareness was not there among the people. I think by establishing Lok Adalats we can have speedy trial of cases. Then we can dispense with costly legal system which we inherited from the British legal system. I think these Lok Adalats have been introduced in some places and they are quite successful. It has been accepted by the people with more jubilation. I hope in course of time it will spread to different villages in the country and people will appreciate it. It will have a traditional link with the past social and legal system of our country.

Madam, if we see the plan programme, again an important thing has been done and that is the challenge of education which is a document published by the Education Ministry. This document has been prepared by the Ministry of Human Development Resource after consultations with intellectuals, professors, village leaders and political leaders. It has been opened for discussion some six months back; and as a result of which new ideas may emerge so that its implementation may be involved from the very beginning. Because academic changes can only bring the social change and social awareness. Madam, in any modern country academic revolution is the base of development in science and techmnology. If we do not carry out changes in the academic field we cannot keep pace with other developed countries. There may be criticism that we are creating confusion in the minds of the people. But the Prime Minister has said that we have to prepare ourselves for the 21st century. We know that time will not wait for anybody.

Madam, Mahatma Gandhi had also correctly pointed out that "let my doors and windows be open and let the wind blow from the North, South, East and West". So let us prepare ourselves for the 21st century. At the same time, let us not get uprooted.

So, India must keep the tradition. But at the same time India should also be well aware of the latest developments in science and technology. During the Jawaharlal Nehru's time, in the First Five Year Plan, it was rightly emphasised. The development of science and technology was given greater attention. The foundation stone of many basic industries was laid during Jawaharlal Nehru's time. It was carried forward by Smt. Indira Gandhi and now it is being carried forward by the present Government and we are going ahead in the right direction. We know, the different neighbouring countries of our have been influenced by the super power blocs. Here, I need not mention the names of those countries. How

those powers are trying to create confusion in this country. So, it is very much needed that we must keep ourselves constantly alert against all these forces and must go ahead with our programmes of development.

Another thing which has been mentioned in the President's Address is about the activities of this Government of the past year. There has also been a mention about several cultural centres which have been proposed to be opened up. Some of them have been opened. They are like the Triveni Sangam or the different rivers of India mingling at a point, carrying all the Indian cultures to the different areas so that cultural integration takes place. In the past, the religious temples were playing the role of cultural integration. In fact, they have helped in the cultural integration to a great extent. People from all over India used to go to CHAR DHAM, the four places of religion, from Kanya Kumari to Kashmir and that was to create a sense of integration. The social fabric of the country was built on religion. Now, these institutions must be built up so that a sense of integration can be created among the masses, a social awareness can be created through these institutions. The Government should create cultural centres which will carry the popular cultural feelings of the people and people will try to assimilate them. This process will make the Indian people culturally rich and vibrant. The Indian culture has influenced almost the whole of the globe. Actually when the Vedic civilization flourished in this country, the western countries were probably in darkness. Only in medieval age, when we lost our freedom due to foreign invasion, the science and technology developed in the western countries and during that time, they prospered. At that time, we became a static society. But now the time has come when we should go ahead not only in science and technology but in all the spheres so that it will create a social awareness among the people at large. The youth of the country should be implicated in this programme so that they will have a new urge towards life. This is what they told in China. For the cohesive development of our country, it is necessary that we are socially and culturally integrated. Coming to the other problems, the President has very rightly pointed out that India is a free society in spite of the various odds prevalent in our society. We know the droughts in the Southern States have been affecting very much. Drinking water has become a problem. But so far as agriculture is concerned, we have made a lot of progress. We have become self-sufficient in food. 25 years back, we used to go to other countries with a begging bowl and we became a laughing stock. Now we have become self-sufficient in the food production. Here, I would urge upon the Government to pay a special attention towards certain backward areas in the country, especially, North Eastern zones, where the food production has not speeded up. Special research and development centres must be established in these backward areas so that they too could be benefited out the programmes of the Government. These pockets are in Orissa, part of Bihar, part of North Eastern States where the food production has not picked up. Food production must be augmented so that everywhere there is prosperity. Until we check the growth of population in India, the population will rise to 100 crores by 2,000 A.D. it will be impossible to have enough food production. And as has been rightly pointed out, till now we are not self-sufficient in oilseeds. Special emphasis is also being given to oilseeds production in this country.

Now coming to people below the poverty-line, in the anti-poverty programmes many millions of families have been included in the Seventh Five Year Plan so that these people can come to a higher level of economic life, which is the first and foremost responsibility of any welfare State. This has been rightly emphasised in the Seventh Five Year Plan. I will only urge that we must see that the money which goes in the name of Integrated Rural Development for the development of the rural people, reaches them directly. In the House we have heard how there are many leaks in the pipeline which goes to the villages. The intended beneficiaries must be benefited. There must be constant evaluation as to how the people are

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being economically benefited. Our Government is rightly giving a larger emphasis on the programmes for the benefit of the people below the poverty-line, to see how their economic life can prosper and they can have a minimum standard of living.

Similarly the handloom sector has been given more importance because next to agriculture, it gives the maximum employment and the Janata cloth or controlled cloth is supplied by the handloom sector. This is an important decision which has been taken by the Government which will benefit lakhs of handloom weaver families, as handloom is next only to agriculture in this country. (*Time-bell rings*) I will conclude, Madam, since you have already rung the bell. We have to see to the development of backward areas, about which also there is a mention in the Address. But I would like to tell you something which is very important. The backward areas many times eat away the surplus of other areas. So we have to give special emphasis on the development of backward areas. I will urge that special attention must be given to the eastern zone which is one of the most backward areas of this country. There should be a nuclear power plant in the eastern zone. I will plead through you, Madam, that there must be a nuclear power plant in the eastern zone, and Orissa is one of the ideal States for it. Its power supply must be augmented. It is suffering from power shortage and industries are suffering. Backward areas are much more in Bengal and Orissa. Industrial sickness is much rampant there because of power shortage. The Government must see that the employment potential is not choked but improves, without which probably there will be another social void.

Another point is that the import cost of petroleum is increasing every year, as was pointed out by the hon. Finance Minister yesterday. So we must give emphasis on thermal power projects. I would like to say that in the Seventh Five Year Plan the super thermal power plant at Talcher must be included. It will help to increase power generation and it will help the national economy.

I will mention another point before concluding. The public sector must be occupying the commanding heights of the economy. From Jawaharlal Nehru till today, the Congress Government has emphasised this. But we have to see that the efficiency of the public sector increases. And rightly the hon. Finance Minister said yesterday that there must be a rational policy for the administered prices. Because of inefficiency, the people should not be made to suffer and pay more. The prices should not be unreasonably high.

With these words, I would like to say that under the present Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, the country has progressed.

[The Vice-Chairman (Shri R. Ramakrishnan) in the Chair.]

At least we have shown to the world that we could control the Punjab situation and we could solve the Assam situation. And we have tried to create a new friendship among the South Asian countries.

And today as the President says, the Sri Lankan problem cannot be solved militarily; the Tamil problem in Sri Lanka cannot be solved by force of military. The struggle will continue and can be solved only at the political level. Today Jayawardene has agreed that India can play a role in a political settlement. India is holding high hopes for the developing countries in the world. It holds a high position in the eyes of the African countries, among the ASEAN countries among the Latin American countries. They are all pinning high hopes on India. India is marching ahead. Its economy is viable. We have gone through ups and downs. We are prepared to sacrifice ourselves to build this country. we have made sacrifices and we will continue to make sacrifices to make a better and brighter India and fulfil all the promises.

SHRI BISWA GOSWAMI (Assam): Mr. Vice-Chairman, the President's Address does not give the correct assessment of the situation that is prevailing today. After 38 years of freedom there has been an all round deterioration of the situation and a total deviation from the principles enunciated by Gandhiji during the freedom struggle. Corruption has become rampant in every walk of life and the situation is going from bad to worse. Moral values have gone down and the values that were built up during the freedom struggle have been eroded gradually. The President said in his Address:

"Violence in public life is the very antithesis of the ethos of our civilization. The frequent resort to violence to settle what are perceived as grievances of one group or another should deeply disturb those who up hold democratic values. While Governments must firmly put down violence wherever it may occur, it is essential that political parties committed to democratic values should deal with the root causes of violence through purposive and sustained work among the people."

In this respect I would like to point out that the ruling party has not done anything which will deal with the situation and will rectify the atmosphere of violence that is prevailing today. The Government has not done anything to build up positive secular values in this country although we are committed to secularism. The opening of the Ram Janmabhoomi Temple under pressure of some Hindus without anticipating the Muslim reaction has led to widespread communal trouble in UP. Madhya Pradseh, Delhi, Jammu and Kashmir and Calcutta. On the one hand the Government has yielded to the pressure of Hindu fundamentalists and on the other hand it has yielded to the pressure of Muslim fundamentalists. Recently in this Session the Government has introduced a Bill called the Protection of Rights and Divorce Bill 1986 to amend Section 125 of the Criminal Procedure Code which is a total surrender to the Muslim fundamentalists and it is totally detrimental to the interests of Muslim women. Our failure to introduce a uniform civil code although it has been envisaged in the Constitution, has made our belief in secularism a mockery. Therefore, the Government is responsible for this deplorable state of affairs in the country today. Then again, Sir, the failure of the Government to adopt a clear-cut policy towards the problems of the country has resulted in an atmosphere of violence in the whole of the country and the Government's attitude towards the fundamentalists and its leniency towards these fundamentalists have created a situation in which communal tension is growing in the country.

Sir, the regional forces are grownig. The emphasis, rather overemphasis, on a strong Centre and the refusal to respond to the legitimate aspirations of the people of the various regions have led to the emergence of these regional forces. Moreover, the uneven economic development and the under interference in the internal affairs of the States and the dismissal, illegal dismissal, of the legally constituted non-Congress (I) Governments have roused the regional sentiments and this is another reason why the regional forces are emerging stronger today. I would like to mention in this connection that it must be remembered that the multiplicity of identities is essential for really ensuring the unity and integrity of the country and we must not forget the concept of unity in diversity and that is why be Constitution must safeguard the interests of the smaller sub-nationalities lkie the Assamese poeple and the other people in the North-Eastern Region and the other parts of the country. Unless we do this, our federal structure will be meaningless and the purpose for which we formed the linguistic States would be defeated. Therefore, if we do not protect and safeguard the linguistic and cultural identities of the people then our federal structure will be in Jeopardy and our unity and integrity will also be in jeopardy.

Now, so far as the economic aspect is concerned, the Government has deviated completely from its former objectives. The concept of mixed economy was introduced in the country with a view to transforming the economy into a socialistic one and we have also introduced the word

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"socialism" in our Constitution. But mere insertion of the word " socialism" in the Constitution of the country will not help and the country will not become a socialist country only because of that. But what has happened today? The present Government has completely deviated from that path of socialism and instead of going towards socialism, the country is going in the reverse direction. We have undone whatever we have done in the past. By introducing public sector industries we said that the public sector would have the commanding heights of the economy. But, today, the public sector is serving the interests of the private sector and that is why I say that unless this deviation is set right, the common people will never be benefited. Already great disparities have appeared and the capitalists' stranglehold over the economy has increased and the multinationals have also come and they have established their stranglehold over the economy of the country. Sir, it was Mahatma Gandhi who asked us to boycott foreign cloth. But here is another Gandhi who is prepared to mortgage the country to the multinationals. Today, if we cannot come out of the clutches of the multinationals, then the poor people and the common people of the country will never be benefited.

In this connection, Sir, I would like to refer to what the President has said in his Address, and I quote:

> "Modern industrial societies cannot rise on the basis of continuing low level of productivity and high cost of production."

And exactly the Government is pursuing such a policy which will create high cost of living because by administrative action before the session was started the Government raised the prices of petroleum products, fertliizers and other articles. Today the Railway Minister, while presentnig the Budget has proposed an increase in the passenger fares. If these things go on, then definitely the cost of production will increase and then our whole purpose will be lost and our cost of production will increase, our exports will decrease because we will not be able to compete in the foreign market and as a result our economy will be doomed. Sir, this increase in the prices of commodities is very detrimental to the interests of the common man. The President has said in his Address—I quote:

> "The future of the planning process depends on our capacity to face up to difficult questions and to take hard decisions that may involve sacrifices."

But from whom are we demanding sacrifices? Definitely we are demanding sacrifices from those who are below the poverty line, who are poor people. We are not demanding these sacrifices from the affluent class; you have given them concessions. We are giving them latitudes. We are giving them concessions after concessions, so that they can grow, so that they can fatten their purse. If these things go on, a situation will come when the poor sections of the people will not tolerate, it will be unbearable on their part, and they will have to revolt against the Government.

Sir, the President has himself in his Address said:

> "The balance of payments position poses a similar challenge. Our exports have remained sluggish in 1985-86 but our imports have increased."

This is the situation. We have not made any progress whatsoever. But we are claiming that we are proceeding in the right direction. Sir, the Economic Survey has said—I quote:

> "As a result of volatile rainfall conditions, agricultural production has fluctuated sharply during the first five years of this decade. Foodgrain production in 1984-85 fell to 146.2 million tonnes, a decline of 6.2 million tonnes from the record level of 152.4 million tonnes achieved in 1983-84."

Sir, the production increased not due to any effort of the Government. Production increased because of the favourable monsoon conditions. If this is the situation, then what is our planning? What planning has done? What is the result of our planning if we are to depend for increased production of foodgrains only on

the monsoons, and if in one year the monsoon is not favourable then the production will fall down. So if this is the situation, it is evident that the planning has not been able to deliver the goods.

It is said that there should be growth and development. But it is also necessary that there should be social justice and equitable distribution of wealth. The oil theory, trickling down theory has been discarded nowadays. Our Government has today stuck to the old theory. The Prime Minister has said that we should go to the 21st century. Who will go to the 21st century? It will only be the affluent section, a hopeless minority of the population. Their standards of living will rise. They may go to the 21st century. But those who are under the poverty line, those who are the commonmen, they will not be able to go to the 21st century. Therefore, this talk of going to the 21st century, and our anxiety to make India the United States of America and to improve our standard of living to that level of the United States of America will ruin the country because it will create two classes. One class, the affluent class which will be less than two percent will be benefited. Their style of life will improve and they will live like the Americans. But the others will have to fight poverty and they will have to die of hunger. Therefore, Sir, we want a well thought-out plan, a plan which emphasises a total and radical structural change in the economic structure of the society. And we were committed to this. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was committed to this. He said that with that end in view, this mixed economy was introduced. Mixed economy was not introduced to continue it for eternity. It was introduced to strengthen socialist economy. But now it has become the tendency of our Government to say that our economy is mixed economy and, therefore, give concessions to the private sector and let them loot and let them prosper. And that has become the order of the day. Therefore, Sir, in the economic field also we are not improving. On the contrary, the conditions of the poorer sections have gone from bad to worse. And a situation will come when it will be unbearable for them to bear any burden of taxation and bear any burden placed on them by the Government. But, unfortunately, this Government which claims that it is the Government for the poor have taken a path of increasing the indirect taxes and reducing the direct taxes which directly goes against the interest of the common man.

Sir, coming to the Punjab Accord and the Assam Accord, much has been said that the Punjab Accord was signed and it will be implemented. But when will it be implemented? Chandigarh was to be transferred on the 26th of January. Hindi-speaking areas were to be transferred to Haryana on that day. After the signing of the Punjab Accord, now it has been said that the Chief Ministers of Haryana and Punjab should come to a compromise. Now they are talking about a political solution. Therefore, the Punjab Accord has gone in vain. We do not know when this Punjab Accord will be implemented. Similarly, the Assam Accord has been signed. It is very good that the Assam Accord was signed. But we do not know when this Assam Accord is going to be implemented. Nothing has been said as to when the barbed wire fencing will be constructed. Nothing has been said as to how many of those who have returned after 1971 have been detected and deported. Nothing has been said in the President's Address as to what measures will be adopted to safeguard the identity and the interests of the Assamese people. It was a part of the Accord. Mere signing of the Accords and taking pride that we have solved these problems will lead us nowhere. We signed, no doubt, with an eye to become popular. We signed the Accord without judging all the pros and cons of the problem. We signed the Punjab Accord. Now the difficulties have arisen. Now we canoot implement it. Now we are facing the music. So, Sir, it is futile to say that by signing the Punjab Accord and the Assam Accord the Government has done a very big thing. As a matter of fact, so far as Assam is concerned, the Government should have solved the problem long ago. People had to launch their agitation for six years. They did not act in time. And that is why the situation today in Assam is that a

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regional party has come to power. Similarly, in other States also, regional forces are growing. So, it is high time the Central Government, the ruling Party took a stand. They should respond in time to the legitimate regional aspirations of the people of different regions. Then, Sir, nothing has been said about the electoral reforms. It was promised last year that electoral reforms would be introduced. Unless electoral reforms are introduced our elections will be a mockery. It will be only election of those only who have got moneybags. They alone will be able to contest elections. Unless these electoral reforms are made, these elections will be meaningless. Similarly, nothing has been said about introducing the land reform measures. It has been said that the emphasis will be given for more production, for greater produtcion of foodgrains in the eastern region. But nothing has been said as to when the Government will introduce these land reform measures and implement those measures. Similarly, there is the unemployment problem. This unemployment problem has assumed serious proportion. Unless a time-bound programme is evolved, unless a time-bound programme is evolved by the Government to solve the unemployment problem, the situation will go out of hands. Today we are introducing computers. We are going for electronics without caring for the vast majority of the unemployed population. We should adopt such technology in our country which is suitable for our country and which will not create more unemployment, such technology we want. The Technology which will give employment to the unemployed youth, the technology which will give food to the common people, that type of technology we want. So, by merely imitating the west we will not be able to deliver the goods to the country.

(*Time Bell rings*)

Therefore, Sir, with these words, I conclude and I hope that the Government will take effective steps and that the administered prices which were raised before the Parliament was called to session, these prices will be reduced in response to a Bharat Bandh which has been observed throughout the country today, in protest against the price hike, in protest against the increase in the prices. I hope the Government of India will respond to the call of the people and in response to that call they will withdraw the price hike in the petroleum products, fertilisers and foodgrains and other materials.

With these words, Sir, I conclude. Thank you.

डा0 रुद्र प्रताप सिंह (उत्तर प्रदेश) : आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, आपका मैं हृदय से आभारी हूं जो आपने मुझे राष्ट्रपति महोदय को धन्यवाद के प्रस्ताव पर अपने विचार प्रकट करने का अवसर प्रदान किया है । मैं उसका समर्थन करने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूं ।

मान्यवर, सर्वप्रथम मैं भारत के प्रधान मंत्री परम आदरणीय श्री राजीव गांधी जी को हृदय से बधाई देना चाहता हूं कि राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने अपने 17 जनवरी, 1985 के अभिभाषण में सरकार की जिन प्रमुख नीतियों तथा कार्यक्रमों की संक्षिप्त रूपरेखा प्रस्तुत की थी, उसका सरकार के द्वारा पूर्ण निष्ठा तथा प्रतिबद्धता के साथ क्रियान्वयन किया गया है तथा किया जा रहा है । सरकार अपने वचन पर अपने आश्वासन पर दृढ़ संकल्प एवं कार्यरत है ।

श्रीमन्, मुझ को इस बात की हार्दिक प्रसन्नता है कि आदरणीय श्री राजीव गांधी जी ने राष्ट्र की अखंडता, एकता, प्रभुसत्ता, लोकतंत्र, समाजवाद, धर्मनिरपेक्षता तथा आत्म निर्भरता को सर्वोच्च प्राथमिकता प्रदान कर रखी है । वह राष्ट्र की भौतिक उन्नति के साथ नैतिक एवं आध्यात्मिक मूल्यों के प्रति भी वचनबद्ध है । वह भारत की वैज्ञानिक उन्नति करके विश्व के शक्तिशाली राष्ट्रों की पंक्ति में गौरव प्रदान करने के लिए कृत संकल्प है । साथ ही वह एक स्वच्छ सार्वजनिक जीवन के प्रति स्वयं वचनबद्ध होते हुए चाहते हैं कि सार्वजनिक जीवन, सेवा त्याग एवं तपस्या की भावना से प्रेरित हो ।

श्रीमन्, माननीय सदन इस बात से सहमत होगा की राष्ट्र की अखंडता, प्रभुसत्ता, लोकतंत्र तथा शान्ति के लिए अत्यन्त गंभीरतापूर्वक विचार करना होगा । भावात्मक एकता

की स्थापना के हेतु नकारात्मक तथा सकारात्मक दोनों प्रकार के उपायों की खोज करनी होगी । जातिवाद, सम्प्रदायवाद, भाषावाद, क्षेत्रवाद आदि की भावना भावात्मक एकता की स्थापना में प्रमुख रूप से बाधक है । उनको निर्मूल किये जाने की दिशा में आवश्यक पग उठाना होगा । यह तभी संभव होगा जब राष्ट्र के समस्त नागरिकों में अमीर और गरीब के अतिरिक्त किसी प्रकार का भेदभाव न किया जाय । इस प्रश्न पर राष्ट्र के समस्त राजनीतिक दलों की एक राष्ट्रीय सहमति लानी चाहिए । मानव मानव के मध्य समस्त प्रकार के भेदों-मतभेदों को दूर करना होगा । उनकी विषमताओं एवं असमानताओं को समाप्त करना होगा । जब एक नागरिक दूसरे नागरिक के सम्पर्क में आने पर यह नहीं ज्ञात करना चाहेगा कि दूसरे की जाति, धर्म या प्रान्त क्या है, जब यह प्रश्न नहीं उठेगा कि वह पुरुष है या स्त्री, जब केवल यह विचार रहेगा कि वह मानव है, भारत का नागरिक है, तभी भावनात्मक एकता की परिकल्पना साकार हो सकेगी । इसके लिए अत्यन्त गम्भीर चिन्तन तथा मनन की आवश्यकता है । मेरा निश्चित मत है कि इस कार्य को सर्वोच्च प्राथमिकता दी जानी चाहिए ।

हमारी अनेकता में एकता का आधार है हमारी महान संस्कृति जिसके वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम ने सम्पूर्ण विश्व को सम्पूर्ण मानवता के सूत्र में बांधने का पुनीत प्रयास किया है, मुझे को प्रसन्नता है कि हमारे आदरणीय प्रधान मंत्री जी हमारी उस संस्कृति के मूलों के संरक्षण तथा संवर्धन के लिए प्रयत्नशील है । राष्ट्रीय भावात्मक एकता के लिए सबसे महत्वपूर्ण है सम्पूर्ण भारत की एक सम्पर्क भाषा । चूंकि हिन्दी सम्पूर्ण भारतवासियों के द्वारा समझी जाती है, अतएव यह गौरव उसको प्रदान किया गया है । यह आवश्यक है कि इस बात के हेतु आवश्यक पग उठाये जायें जिससे वह सम्पूर्ण राष्ट्र के नागरिकों द्वारा समझी तथा बोली जा सके । शिक्षा मंत्रालय तथा गृह मंत्रालय को इस संबंध में महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका निभानी होगी ।

माननीय सदन इस बात से भी सहमत होंगा कि किसी भी राष्ट्र के लिए जो बातें अत्यन्त महत्वपूर्ण हैं उनमें उस राष्ट्र के लोकतंत्र की रक्षा प्रमुख है। पंजाब और आसाम में निर्वाचन के परिणामों का पूर्वाभास होते हुए भी आदरणीय श्री राजीव गांधी जी द्वारा निर्वाचन सम्पन्न कराये गये वह लोकतंत्र में उनके अटूट विश्वास का द्योतक है, ज्वलन्त उदाहरण है । उन्होंने पंजाब और आसाम का समझोता करते समय इस बात की चिन्ता नहीं कि उनके दल को निर्वाचन में बहुमत प्राप्त होगा अथवा नहीं । उन्होंने समझौते में राष्ट्र की अखंडता तथा एकता को ध्यान में रखा, जैसा कि भारत की महान जनता ने उन पर विश्वास कर रखा है। मैं उन्हें इसके लिए हृदय से बधाई देता हूं। मेरा विश्वास है कि उनके नेतृत्व में तमिल भाइयों की भी समस्या का निवारण अवश्य होगा ।

श्रीमन् हमको अपनी धर्म निरपेक्षता की नीति पर गर्व है । यह सर्वथा उचित है कि सरकार के द्वारा किसी भी नागरिक के धार्मिक विश्वास तथा कार्य में बाधा न उपस्थित की जाए और न धर्म के नाम पर किसी पर भेदभाव किया जाये। परन्तु माननीय सदस्य इस बात से सहमत होंगा कि धर्म, का अर्थ साम्प्रदायिकता नहीं हैं । धर्म का अर्थ हैं आत्मा का परमात्मा के प्रति धर्म जो सर्वथा आन्तरिक क्रिया एवं प्रक्रिया हैं एक अन्तर-यात्रा हैं आत्मा के द्वारा परमात्मा की ओर यात्रा में सरकार की ओर से किसी प्रकार की बाधा या हस्तक्षेप नहीं होना चाहियें परन्तु धर्म के नाम पर मानव मानव के मध्य भेद उत्पन्न करना, हिंसा करना, विघटन के कार्य करना धर्म नहीं, साम्प्रदायिकता है, राष्ट्र-द्रोह है। अतः यह बात आवश्यक है कि हम भारत के महान नागरिकों की धर्म निरपेक्षता के वास्तविक अर्थ बतायें तथा राष्ट्र में धर्म निरपेक्ष के वातावरण को निर्मित करने में अपना योगदान दें जिससे कि साम्प्रदायिक सद्भावना का वातावरण निर्मित हो सके ।

श्रीमान, मुझें इस बात की भी प्रसन्नता हैं कि आदरणीय प्रधान मंत्री जी के नेतृत्व में सरकार समाजवाद के प्रति कृतसंकल्प तथा कार्यरत है, सामाजिक तथा आर्थिक विषमताओं को समाप्त करने हेतु उपाय किये जा रहे हैं । निर्धनता तथा बेंकारी दूर करनें हेतु प्रयत्न किए जा रहें हैं । मूल्य पर नियंत्रण पाने की दिशा में हर संभव प्रयास किये जा रहे हैं। कालाधन समाप्त करने की दिशा में अत्यन्त सराहनीय पग उठाए जा रहे हैं ।

[डा० रुद्र प्रताप सिंह]

भ्रष्टाचार के उन्मूलन की दिशा में प्रभावी पग उठाने के पूर्व सार्वजनिक जीवन में स्वच्छता की नीति अत्यन्त सहरानीय है। भू सीमा एक्ट के द्वारा बड़े भू-स्वामियों के द्वारा कृषकों को शोषण से मुक्त किया गया है। साथ ही भूमिहीनों को भूमि का स्वामी बनाया गया है। भूमि भू-स्वामियों की सम्पत्ति थी, साथ आय का साधन भी थी। उस पर सीमा एक्ट लगाकर भू-स्वामियों की संपत्ति तथा आय के साधन दोनों पर सीमा लगी। सामाजिक तथा आर्थिक न्याय की दृष्टि से तथा समाजवादी समाज की संरचना के दृष्टिकोण से यह अनिवार्य है कि उसी अनुपात में शीघ्र शहरी संपत्ति पर भी सीमा निर्धारित की जाय। इसके अतिरिक्त चीनी मिलों के राष्ट्रीयकरण के प्रश्न पर भी गंभीरता से विचार किया जाना चाहिए। एक परिवार की कम से कम संपत्ति तथा आय कितनी हो और एक परिवार के पास अधिक से अधिक कितनी संपत्ति तथा आय हो इस प्रश्न पर विचार किया जाना सर्वथा उचित होगा।

श्रीमन् सरकार ने अपनी परम्परागत नीति के अनुसार अनुसूचित जातियों, अनुसूचित जन-जातियों, अल्प संख्यकों, निर्बल तथा निर्धन वर्गों के हितों को प्राथमिकता प्रदान कर रखी है। आदरणीय प्रधानमंत्री जी ने महिलाओं तथा युवकों की ओर विशेष रूप से ध्यान दिया है। उनका यह दृष्टिकोण जाति तथा धर्म के बहुत ऊपर है जिसकी जितनी सराहना की जाय वह कम है।

मानव संसाधन मंत्रालय की स्थापना निश्चित रूप से एक महत्वपूर्ण पग है। महिलायें चाहे जिस जाति, धर्म की हो वे चाहे कोई भी भाषा भाषी हो सभी का शोषण होता आया है और आज भी उनके ऊपर अत्याचार हो रहे हैं। अतएव समस्त महिलाओं के कल्याण हेतु नियम बनाकर उन्हें कठोरता क साथ क्रियान्वित करना होगा। श्रीमाण् परम आदरणीय श्री राजीव गांधी के नेतृत्व में भारत का उदय एक आत्मनिर्भर स्वाभिमानी तथा शक्तिशाली राष्ट्र के रूप में हो रहा है। भारत की महान जनता का यह विश्वास है कि उनके नेतृत्व में भारत पूर्ण सम्मान तथा गौरव के साथ इक्कीसवीं शताब्दी में प्रवेश करेगा। उनके नेतृत्व में भारत रूपी सूर्य ने सम्पूर्ण विश्व को आलोकित किया है। वह भारत के नैतिक, आध्यात्मिक, सांस्कृतिक एवं आर्थिक सर्वांगीण विकास हेतु सतत प्रयत्नशील हैं। सन 1985 में आदरणीय, श्री राजीव गांधी जी विश्व के समस्त प्रधान मंत्रियों की तुलना में सर्वश्रेष्ठ और सबसे महान प्रधान मंत्री सिद्ध हुए हैं। उनके महान नेतृत्व में एक युग का शुभारम्भ हुआ है जो राजीव युग के नाम से स्मरण किया जायेगा। मेरा विश्वास है कि उनके नेतृत्व में भारत का यश धरती पर ही नहीं नक्षत्रों पर भी जहां मानव जाति होगी, वहां तक फैलेगा। मैं उनकी दीर्घायु की कामना करता हूं।

श्रीमान् अंत में मैं उर्दू के दो शेर पढ़कर अपनी बात समाप्त करूंगा। प्रथम आदरणीय प्रधानमंत्री जी के सम्मान में :

लोग कहते हैं बदलता है जमाना हरदम
मर्द वह है जो जमाने को बदल देते हैं।

दूसरा है भारत तथा विश्व की मानव जाति के प्रति :

जिन्हें शक हो वो करे और खुदाओं की तलाश ;
हम तो इंसान को दुनिया का खुदा कहते हैं।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण के प्रति जो कृतज्ञता का प्रस्ताव प्रस्तुत किया गया है उसका हृदय से समर्थन करता हूं तथा आपको पुनः धन्यवाद देता हूं।

श्रीमती प्रतिभा सिंह (बिहार) : उप-सभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण पर धन्यवाद के प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करती हूं। पिछले एक वर्ष की सरकार की सफलताओं के बारे में मुझ से पहले बहुत सारे सदस्य बोल चुके है। मैं सबसे पहले जिस बात को आवश्यक समझती हूं और जो बार बार कहा जाता है कि रोटी, कपड़ा और मकान तो इसकी पूर्ति के लिये जो हरित क्रांति हुई उससे हमारे देश में अन्न के भंडार ही नहीं भरे बल्कि आज हम विदेशों में भी अन्न भेजने लगे है। यद्यपि हर दो वर्ष में किसी न किसी प्रदेश में अकाल की स्थिति बनी रही और इस समय भी दक्षिण के कुछ प्रदेशों में अकाल की स्थिति बनी हुई है लेकिन फिर भी सारे देश में जो हरित क्रांति हुई और जो आज भी चालू है और जिसको चालू बनाने के लिये हमने राष्ट्रपति महोदय के अभिभाषण में

इसका जिक्र किया है कि बंजर जमीन के विकास के लिये हम एक बोर्ड की स्थापना करेंगे और हम देखेंगे कि किस तरह से बंजर जमीन को भी हम कैसे कुछ न कुछ पैदा करने लायक कैसे बनायें और वहां पर वृक्षारोपण करके वहां पर कई प्रकार के पौधे लगाकर उस जमीन को भी उपजाऊ बनाने का प्रयास करेंगे । इसमें किसानों के लिये उनकी फसल की इंश्योरेंस की बात की गई है । जमीन के बंटवारे का भी जिक्र है । कपड़े की नयी नीति की घोषणा भी इसमें की है जिसके मुताबिक 70 करोड़ मीटर के करीब कंट्रोल कपड़ा हम हथकरघा क्षेत्र को देंगे । यह जो हथकरघा को सस्ता कपडा देंगे नयी नीति के अनुसार ज्यादा कपड़ा बनायेंगे । इससे बहुत से लोगों को काम मिल जायेगा । यह अनइम्पलायमेंट को दूर करने की तरफ एक बहुत बड़ी योजना है । इसमें मैं दो तीन बातें आपके द्वारा सरकार के सामने रखना चाहता हूं । हमारी बहुत सी कपडा मिले हैं जो घाटे में जा रही हैं या जिनकी मशीने बहुत पुरानी हो गई है । अगर हम उनको मार्डनाइज करें तो इसके लिये हमें यथेष्ठ धनराशि की आवश्यकता है । यह धनराशि हम चाहे कितने टैक्स बढाते जायें सिर्फ टेक्सेशन से नहीं ले सकते हैं । इसके लिये हमें और भी उपाय सोचने होंगे । मेरा सुझाव है कि जो अपने बड़े बड़े मेट्रोपोलिटन शहर हैं जहां पर शहरों के बीच में ही पुरानी मिले है अगर इनको दूसरी जगह ले जाये शहर के बाहर और इससे प्राप्त होने वाली जमीन को बेच दे तो इससे हमें कुछ ज्यादा पैसा मिल जायेगा जिससे बाहर हम जमीन भी ले लें और जो पुरनी मशीने है उन्हे निकाल कर नयी मशीने लाये ताकि हम ज्यादा और सस्ता कपडा पैदा कर सके । ऐसी मिले हमने बम्बई, मद्रास तथा दूसरे शहरो में देखी है जो शहर के बीच में स्थित है । एक तो इससे प्रदूषण की समस्य पैदा होती है । इससे हम प्रदूषण को घटा पायेंगे और इसके साथ साथ हमें धनराशि माडनॉइजेशन के लिये, वेटर बिल्डिंग्ज के लिये लेबर को अधिक सुविधा देने के लिए प्राप्त हो जायेगी । जैसे मैंने कहा कि रोटी, कपडा और मकान, तीन चीजें सब से जरूरी है । अगर हम लोगो को पावर्टी लाइन से ऊपर उठाना चाहते है तो यह तीन चीजें बहुत जरूरी है । मकान बनाने के कार्यक्रम को भी ज्यादा बढाने की जरूरत है । इसकी कन्सलटेटिव कमेटी में होने की वजह से मुझे जानकारी है कि अभी भी शहरों और गांवों म मकानों की बहुत कमी है । गांवो में हरिजनों और आदिवासियों को मकान देने के लिये हमने वायदे किये थे कि हम इतने मकान बना सकेंगे वे वायदे पूरे नहीं हो पाये है । इसके लिये क्या करें ? इसके लिये मेरा सुझाव है कि अगर मकान के विषय को हम इन्डस्ट्री की लिस्ट में ले जाये दो हम बहुत कुछ कर सकते है । अभी तक यह नहीं हो पाया है । हम हाउसिंग को इंडस्ट्री में ले आने की वजह से बहुत से इंसेंटिव दे सकेंगे और इससे लोन वगैरह भी आसानी से मिल सकेंगे, प्राइवेट सेक्टर को भी लोन आसानी से मिल सकेंगे । हम भी हमेशा कहते है कि ब्लैक मनी को किस तरह व्हाइट मनी में बदलें ? ठीक है रेड्ज जरूर करिये लेकिन रेड्ज आर काट दी ओनली आनसर । हमें और भी तरीके अपनाने होंगे । आपने देखा कि पिछले साल इन्कम टेक्स के रेट कम हुए है इसलिये कलेक्शन आफ रेवेन्यू कहीं ज्यादा बढ़ गया है । उसी तरह से अगर हाऊसिंग को हम इंडस्ट्री में ले आयें तो इससे बहुत फरक और फायदा होगा । इसमें दो काम और करने होंगे । अभी तक सरकार रेंट कंट्रोल एक्ट में सुधार नहीं ला सकी है । उसका जो बिल लाना था वह नहीं लाये । इसमें थोड़ी कंट्रोवर्सी है क्योंकि जो लोग किरायेदार है वे मकानों नहीं छोड़ना चाहते है लेकिन जो साधारण मकानों के मालिक है जिनके मकानों को बड़े लोगों ने किराये पर ले रखा है, रेट कंट्रोल एक्ट लाकर ही उसे आप छुडा सकते है । जो ट्रिब्यूनल बने है उसमें तो 10–10 साल तक मामले चलतें है, उसके बाद हाईकोर्ट में चले जाते हैं फिर सुपीम कोर्ट में चले जाते है । आप रेंट कंट्रोल एक्ट में यह कह दीजिये कि एक हजार रुपये तक जिसकी आमदनी है वह अगर किसी मकान में है तो

[श्रीमती प्रतिभा सिंह]

उन्हें कुछ रियायत दी जायेगी। लेकिन एक हजार से ऊपर जिनकी आमदनी है जो लाखों रुपये कमा रहे है और बहुत कम किराये पर मकान ले रखे है और लीज खतम हो चुकी है तो उनसे छुड़वाने का कोई रास्ता नहीं बनाया जायेगा तो किस तरह से हम हाउसिंग में इंसेंटिव दें सकेंगे, किस तरह से हाउसिंग को बूस्ट दें सकेंगे ? इसमें मुझे यह भी एक बात आपके, सरकार के समक्ष लानी है कि जिन मकानों को 40 साल से ज्यादा 100 या सवा सौ रुपये किराये पर लिया हुआ है, हर विभाग ने लिया हुआ है जैसे रेलवे ने लिये हुए है, डिफेंस ने लिये हुए हैं' शिपिंग ने लिये हुए है, 40-40 50-50 साल से लिये हैं तो आज ऐसे मकान मालिको के पास कोई तरीका नहीं है कि वे अपने मकान वापिस लें। नये मकान बना नहीं सकते है क्योंकि जमीन की कीमतें बढ़ी हैं मकान बनाने के इनपुटस की कीमतें बढ़ी हैं। इसलिये मेरा सुझाव है कि सरकार ऐसे मकान मालिको को वापिस करे और इस पर विचार करे कि किस रह से हाउसिंग को हम बूस्ट दे सकते हैं। सरकार जनता को सुविधा देने के लिए हैं, दिक्कत बढ़ाने के लिये नहीं है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, गांवों में हरिजनों और आदिवासी क्षेत्रों में सस्ते मकान बनाने के लिए कई नये और सस्ते तरीकें निकले हैं, खासकर हुडको इस चीज को सामने लाया है। हुडको ने जो कुछ भी इस बारे में रिसर्च किया है कि किस तरीके से सस्ते से सस्ते मकान बनाये जा सकते हैं तो इनका मीडिया के मारफत अधिक से अधिक प्रचार करवाया जाये। गांवों में आग लगने पर टोले के टोले जल जाते हैं। उनके लिए हुडको ने तरल पदार्थ निकाले हैं जिनका छिड़काव करने पर फूंस की झोपड़ियां नहीं जलती हैं। यह तरल पदार्थ गांवों तक पहुंचाना चाहिए, गांव के लोगों को इसकी जानकारी होनी चाहिये कि किस तरह से इसका छिड़काव किया जाये खासकर गर्मी के मौसम में, मुझे मालूम है कि यह समस्या गांव में आग लगने की बिहार में बहुत ज्यादा है। उत्तर प्रदेश में भी काफी है। दक्षिण की मुझे इतनी जानकारी नहीं है। मकानों के बारे में हुडको के चेयरमैन की दो दिन पहले एक सूचना निकली थी। उन्होंने कहा कि 27.25 लाख मकान बनाने की योजना बनाई गयी है और इसके लिये 2400 करोड़ की राशि अधिक रखी गयी है। इस स्कीम के मुताबिक स्लम्स का अपग्रेडेशन होगा। अभी भी आपको पता है कि हर शहर में स्लम्स हैं और इससे वहां के रहने वालों को कितनी तकलीफ होती है। इससे स्लम्स के अपग्रेडेशन होंगे, बेसिक सैनीटेशन के नए तरीके होंगे शहर और गांव के लिय और वीकर सेक्शन के लिये जो कर्ज देते थे उसको 20 साल से 22 साल तक बढ़ा दिया गया है ताकि धीरे-धीरे करके वापिसी करें। जिन लोगों को 12 साल में अपना कर्ज चुकाना होता था उन्होंने कहा है कि अब वे 15 साल में चुका सकते हैं। मिडिल इन्कम में 10 साल में चुकाना होता था उन्हें 15 साल की अवधि दे दी गयी है।

हाउसिंग की प्राब्लम जो भी साम्यवादी देश हैं उन्होंने भी सुलझाया है। रोटी, कपड़ा और मकान के इन तीन प्रश्नों को पहले सुलझाया जाएगा तभी और आगे के प्रश्नों पर जाना है। एक नेशनल हाउसिंग बैंक और सीड कैपिटल आफ 50 करोड़ की भी योजना बनाई गई है। देश में ये तीन बेसिक जो प्रश्न हैं अगर ये नहीं सुलझ पाते हैं तो हम और काम कैस कर सकते हैं। इस लिये इन तीनों को पहले सुलझाना ज्यादा जरूरी है। ये ठीक है कि गरीबी रेखा से ऊपर उठाने के लिये गांवों में ए० आर० डी०पी०, एन० आर० ई०पी० और आर० एल०एल०ई०जी०पी० इत्यादि बहुत से प्रोग्राम हैं लेकिन उनके लिय मानीटरिंग की आवश्यकता हैं और उनकी मानीटरिंग के लिए कोई न कोई सेंटर्स से ही तरीक होने चाहियें क्योंकि स्थानीय लोग आपस में कह सुन कर समझौता कर लेते हैं और जो रिजल्ट हम चाहते हैं वह हमें मिल नहीं पाता है। सरकार की

6.00 P.M. सफलता पिछले वर्ष आर्थिक स्तर पर स्पष्ट है कि पहले जब हमारे कर ज्यादा ऊंचे थे तो हम इतनी राशि नहीं जमा कर पाए थे। पिछले एक साल से हमने 658 करोड़ अधिक राशि उपलब्ध की है और दस करोड़ बाई टैक्स लोथरिंग उसमें जो प्रीवियसली कनसील्ड इन्कम था, उसको बाहर निकाल सके

हैं, जिससे कि हम अपने डेवेलपमेंट के कार्यों को आगे बढ़ा सकें और यह बहुत ही इम्प्रसिव जिसको कहते हैं अचीवमेंट, उपलब्धि है सरकार की ।

लिबरलाईजेशन आफ इनवेस्टमेंट एंड लाइसेंसिंग के जो हमने डिसीजंस लिये हैं, उनसे हमारे उद्योगों में बहुत बढ़ोत्तरी आई है और जो नये शेयर्ज के रेट हैं, उनको पांच गुना बढ़ा देने से अब हमें ज्यादा उसमें भी राशि आने लगी हैं । तो यह सब कुछ करने से हम ज्यादा जाब-ओरिएंटड और हाईर आऊटपुट (घंटी) थोड़ा सा टाईम और दे दीजिये प्लीज...हाईर आऊटपुट कर सकेंगे ।

आपने जो सब लोगों को एक-एक घंटा दिया है, मुझे आज तक हमेशा लास्ट में टाईम मिलता है और कभी दस मिनट से ज्यादा नहीं मिलता है, आखिर मैं भी कुछ कहना चाहती हूं । आज पूरे दिन में किसी महिला को टाईम नहीं मिला है ।

इसलिये मैं आप से बहुत आग्रह करूंगी...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री आर० रामकृष्णन) : हमको कुछ कष्ट नहीं है । माननीय सदस्य बैठना चाहते हैं, तो हम साढ़े छह बजे तक बठेंगे ।

एक माननीय सदस्य : कुछ समय और दे दीजिये ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्रीआर० रामकृष्णन) : आज खत्म करना है, इसलि और पांच मिनट दे दीजिये ।

श्रीमती प्रतिभा सिंह : मनी डोनेशन बिल... (**व्यवधान**) मैं आग्रह करूंगी कि आप मेरी बात सुन लीजिये प्लीज । मैं बहुत कम बोलती हूं और इस सत्र में दुबारा बोलने वाली नहीं हूं ।

SHRI MADHAVRAO SCINDIA: It does not become you to be so hard on ladies.

SHRIMATI PRATIBHA SINGH: You are really a champion of women.

मनी डोनेशन जो चैक के द्वारा किया है, यह भी हमारी पार्टी की बहुत बड़ी उपलब्धि है । हमने शिक्षा नीति में जो नई योजना बनाई है, उसमें फर्क क्या आने वाला है ? बेसिक तीन चीज होने वाली हैं । एक तो हमने किया है कि जो नई शिक्षा नीति है, उसमें स्किल-ओरिएंटेड कार्य दक्षता होगी, वैल्यु-ओरिएंटेड, मूल्यांकन होगा और पर्सनेलिटी-ओरिएंटेड होगी । यह मूल्य हमें इक्कीसवीं सदी को ले जायेंगे या अभी हमें इन्हीं की वजह से सारी परेशानियां हो रही हैं । हमारे अंदर सेंस आफ कांफिडेंस आएगा ।

दूसरा जो करने जा रहे हैं, वह है नौकरी को डिग्री से डिलिक करने जा रहे हैं और माडल स्कूल बनायेंगे, जो हथियार होंगे मेजर रिफार्म्स के । प्राथमिक शिक्षा को यूनिवर्सलाईजेशन करने जा रहे हैं, नान-फार्मल एजुकेशन को ज्यादा से ज्यादा लागू करने जा रहे हैं और प्रौढ़ शिक्षा को बढ़ावा दे रहे हैं ।

यह तीन चार चीज जो हैं, यह नई शिक्षा नीति की नींव होगी ।

इसके साथ ही मैं कहना चाहती हूं कि फिजिकल एजुकेशन और रिक्रिएशन पर स्कूलों और कालेजों में अधिक से अधिक जोर दिया जाए ।

महिलाओं के लिए उनको हर क्षेत्र में आगे बढ़ाना है, तो हिंदू कोड बिल में कुछ संशोधन की आवश्यकता है । आज से पच्चीस साल पहले जो संशोधन हुए थे, उनके बाद उन्हें कोई अधिकार नहीं मिले हैं । जब तक आप उन्हें अधिकार नहीं देंगे, तब तक आप कैसे उन्हें हर क्षेत्र में आगे बढ़ाना चाहते हैं ।

इन्कम-टैक्स में भी उनको कुछ रियायतें देनी होंगी । जो उद्योग करना चाहती हैं, उनके लिए कुछ करना होगा जैसे बैंक्स से उन्हें आसानी से लोन्ज

[श्रीमती प्रतिभा सिंह]

मिलें । जो काम करने वाली महिलाएं हैं, उनके बच्चों के लिए विशेष सुविधायें देनी पड़ेंगी । 25 परसेन्ट काम महिलाओं के लिए सुरक्षित करने होंगे, विशेषकर विधवाओं और तलाकशुदा के लिए ।

हमारी जो सब से बड़ी पिछले साल की सफलता थी, वह पंजाब अकार्ड और असम अकार्ड थे। वहां पर हमारे जो नवयुवक प्रधान मंत्री हैं, उन्होंने दिखाया कि हम पार्टी से ऊपर राष्ट्रीय हित के लिए उठ सकते हैं और बिना हिंसा हुए सारे इलैक्शन्ज वहां पर पूरे हुए और वहां पर दूसरी पार्टी की सरकार बनी । दोनों जगह ऐसे ही हुआ । लेकिन सरकार बन जाने के बाद आज क्या हो रहा है। आज जो यह हिंसा की नीति चल रही है, आज जो वहां पर परिस्थिति बन गई है उसको देखते हुए यह कहना पड़ता है कि अगर वहां की सरकार ने पूरी तरह कड़ाई से इस चीज को टैरोरिजम को नहीं रोका तो शायद विघटन की भी परिस्थिति हो जायेगी । इस सब के पीछे किसका हाथ है । इसमें विदेशी सरकार का हाथ है और हमारी पडौसी सरकार का हाथ है । कल भी लोक सभा में हमारे विदेश मंत्री ने एक सवाल के जवाब में इस बात का स्पष्टीकरण किया, हथियार जमा हो रहे हैं, कल ही रेलवे के आर ए पी के जहां पर हथियार रखे जाते हैं आरमटी तरनतारन में वह लूट लिया गया । ये सारी बहुत सी गंभीर घटनाएं हो रही हैं । इनको किस तरह से रोका जाए ? जब तक कि सारे देश के लोग एक होकर इसमें कुछ नहीं करेंगे तब तक ये घटनाएं कम नहीं हो सकती हैं। आज पंजाब में भाई-भाई को मार रहा है । हर जगह धर्म को लेकर झमेला हो रहा है । चाहे अयोध्या का केस हो या कहीं और जगह का हो । कुछ देर पहले जैसा माननीय केसरी जी ने कहा कि पहले इंसान के लिए धर्म होता था लेकिन आज तो धर्म के लिए इंसान है । धर्म की रुढ़ियां, धर्म की छोटी-छोटी बातों में उलझकर आज जान की कीमत दो पैसे भी नहीं रह गई है । एक गोली की कीमत, मैं विरोधी दल से पूछती हूं कितनी है, 8 आने है, एक रुपया होगी और अगर बहुत होगी तो डेढ़ रुपया होगी । इससे ज्यादा तो नहीं है । लेकिन जान जो चली जाती है तो उसमें कितना बड़ा घाटा होता है । वह किसलिए, रुढ़ियों के लिए चाहे कोई धर्म हो, मुस्लिम हो, हिन्दू हो या सिख धर्म हो । सभी तो यही कहते हैं कि भगवान एक है । धर्म की किताब में एक ही बात है कि जो गरीब है उसकी रक्षा करो, उसकी मदद करो । भगवान के सामने जाकर सारी बात कहो । पंजाब की जो सफलता पिछले साल एकार्ड की थी उसको बाहर के लोगों ने देखा कि हमारी आदरणीय इंदिरा गांधी की हत्या के बाद भी वह हिन्दुस्तान को नहीं तोड़ सके, हिन्दुस्तान के प्रजातंत्र को नहीं तोड़ सके, हिन्दुस्तान की सामाजिक व्यवस्था को नहीं तोड़ सके, हिन्दुस्तान के भाईचारे को नहीं तोड़ सके । इसीलिए उन्होंने अभी यह नई योजना चलाई है कि कम्युनलिज्म बढ़ाओ । इसीलिए धर्म के नाम पर यह नई योजना चलाई है कि धर्म के नाम पर किसी तरह से इस देश का विघटन करो । जिस दिन प्रधान मंत्री की मां की हत्या हुई उस दिन भी उन्होंने देखा कि प्रधान मंत्री ने देश के लोगों को बचाने के लिए अपने आप में इमोशन्स को नहीं आने दिया, उन्होंने यह सारी दुनिया के सामने स्पष्ट कर दिया कि कर्त्तव्य अपनी भावनाओं से ऊंचा है । उनकी मां के लिए सारी दुनिया रोई, लेकिन उन्होंने कहा कि मां के लिए रोना तभी सच्चा होगा जब मैं इस देश को आगे बढ़ा सकूं । तो यह उनकी कल्पना थी । उनकी इस कल्पना और दृढ़ता को देखकर बाहर के लोग परेशान हो गए हैं । इसी परेशानी का कारण है कि आज पंजाब की जो स्थिति बनी है वह स्थिति किसी दिन भी इतनी विस्फोटक हो सकती है कि चाहे हम इस दल की कुर्सियों पर बैठे हों चाहे हम उस दल की कुर्सियों पर बैठे हों, जान आज किसी की खतरे से खाली नहीं है, उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, चाहे वह कोई मुख्य मंत्री हो, चाहे किसी प्रदेश का मुख्य मंत्री हो या

कोई और हो । पिछले वर्ष चूंकि हमारे प्रधान मंत्री यू.एन.ओ. गए, सोवियत संघ गए, मिस्र गए, फ्रांस गए, रोमानिया गए, मालदीव गए । सभी जगह उनकी जो तारीफ हुई, उन्होंने जो एक परसनेलिटी का परिचय दिया, उसने भारत का नाम ऊंचा किया है । बांगला देश के समुद्री तूफान के समय, जबकि देश में कमी है, फिर भी उन्होंने बांगला देश की यात्रा की और बांगला देश की मदद की । इन सारी चीजों से कुछ लोग चिढ़ गए, नाराज हो गए और उन्होंने सोचा कि किस तरह से भारत को तोड़ा जाय, तो पहले इस तरह से तोड़ा जाय कि पंजाब में अराजकता पैदा की जाय, भाई से भाई को लड़ाया जाय, धर्म के नाम पर उत्तर प्रदेश में कुछ कार्यवाही हुई, हिन्दू-मुसलमान लड़ें, हिन्दू-सिख लड़ें, सिख-सिख आपस में लड़ें और किसी तरह से हरेक आदमी आपस में लड़े, जिससे यह बता सकें कि भारत में अब भी प्रजातंत्र की नींव मौजूद नहीं है । लेकिन उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, म आपके मार्फत निवेदन करना चाहती हूं कि हमारे देश पर जब भी मुसीबत होगी तो चाहे हम इस दल के लोग हों, या उस दल के लोग हों, तो हम सब एक होंगे, एक हैं, कोई भी बाहर जाने वाला नहीं है । इसलिए हमें अपने युवा प्रधानमंत्री में विश्वास है और उन्हीं को लेकर हम इस देश में प्रजातंत्र को चलाएंगे, उन्हीं को लेकर हम इस देश में आर्थिक नीति को चलाएंगे, उन्हीं को लेकर हम देश में नयी शिक्षा नीति को लाएंगे और उन्हीं को लेकर हम देश में नयी व्यवस्था को कायम करेंगे ताकि हम सचमुच में जो अब हम कुछ वर्षों में इक्कीसवीं सदी में जाने वाले हैं, जाएंगे । अगर हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी इस बात को कहते हैं, तो इस बात का मजाक क्यों बनाते हैं कि वे इक्कीसवीं सदी में जाने की बात करते हैं और गांवों में पीने का पानी नहीं है । उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, अंत में मैं यही कहूंगी कि इसकी जिम्मेदारी हम जो नागरिक हैं, उनकी भी है । अब से 40 साल पहले गांव में जो लोग होते थे, वही गांव में पीने के पानी की व्यवस्था करते थे, गांव में स्कूल की व्यवस्था करते थे, गांव में अस्पताल की व्यवस्था करते थे और आज हम अपना सब कर्त्तव्य भूल गए हैं और एकटक सरकार की ओर देख रहे हैं कि जो कुछ भी करना है, वह सरकार ही करेगी । यह ठीक नहीं है । उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, आज समय आ गया है कि हम सब मिलकर कंधे से कंधा मिलाकर चलें, अगर हमें अपने गांवों को आइडियल बनाना है । साथ ही सरकार से भी आग्रह करुंगी कि वह इसमें इन्सेंटिव दे और टेक्स में रिबेट दे । साथ ही इस चीज के लिए प्रेरित करे कि हम अपने गांवों को आइडियल बना सकें । हम हरिजनों की जमीन उनको खुद दें, हम उनके मकान बनाने में सहयोग दें, हम उनके कुंओं को साफ करने में सहयोग दें । हम केवल सरकार की तरफ ही न देखते रहें ।

आपने मुझे उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, जो इतना समय दिया है, उसके लिए आपको धन्यवाद देते हुए और राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण के धन्यवाद प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करते हुए अपनी बात समाप्त करती हूं ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN): Before we adjourn Mr. Jaswant Singh will start.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH (Rajasthan): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir,...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN): The House stands adjourned till 11 a.m. on Thursday, the 27 February, 1986.

The House then adjourned at fourteen minutes past six of the clock, till eleven of the clock on Thursday, the 27th February, 1986.

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